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Amut

Deval said Ann Devroy's
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Clinton Study Backs Affirmative Action

THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1995

Five-Month Review Supports Some Reforms

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

The Clinton administration's five-month review of government affirmative action programs concludes that the vast majority of them should continue but that significant reforms may be needed in the way federal contracts are set aside for minorities.

The 96-page review, which forms the basis for a speech the president will deliver today, is in most respects a defense of federal affirmative action initiatives. Its central argument is that there is little evidence to back up Republican assertions that whites are being broadly discriminated against and minorities unfairly rewarded in government employment and the way contracts and other benefits are awarded.

White House officials, who gave a copy of the report to The Washington Post yesterday, pointed to what they view as its central conclusion about government affirmative action: "The evidence shows that, on the whole, the federal programs are fair and do not unduly burden nonbeneficiaries. Finally, we conclude that some reforms would make the programs work better and guarantee their fairness."

Even before the review's release, the White House engaged in an intensive effort to reassure loyal Democratic constituencies that Clinton would not abandon his career-long support of affirmative action in the face of Republican attacks, political anger on the part of white men and dwindling public support. Clinton yesterday called civil rights leader and potential presidential opponent Jesse L. Jackson to brief him on the report and try to enlist his support, and several other leaders of civil rights groups were asked to issue helpful public statements today.

When he ordered the study of federal affirmative action, Clinton expressed doubts about whether some of the programs were needed and whether criterion other than race ought to be used to determine affirmative action efforts. The report does not recommend abolishing any program, although senior officials, and a presidential executive order scheduled for release today, suggest that a recent Supreme Court ruling may result in some race-based programs being found unconstitutional.

Instead, the review focuses on how these programs can be reformed to eliminate abuse. White House officials argue that making specific reforms will keep the most controversial programs from Repub-

ACTION, From A1

licans intent on using race as an political issue.

But the review does not propose targeting the programs only to economically disadvantaged firms or firms located in economically distressed areas, regardless of ownership. "As a practical matter, some degree of explicit targeting is the only effective way to ensure that . . . opportunities are open to minorities and women. The question is how best to minimize abuse" of the programs, the review states.

The largest such programs are set-aside programs for minority businesses overseen by the Small Business Administration and those run separately by the departments of Defense and Transportation. In the latter, some contracts are set aside for minorities or minority firms are given a bid preference, in which a percentage added on to the bid of non-minority businesses puts them at a competitive disadvantage.

The review found the programs have been successful in increasing the percentage of government business going to minority-owned firms, but also noted several problems. Among them were a tendency for agencies trying to reach overall diversity goals to concentrate the contracts set aside for minorities in certain fields, such as construction. Thus, in some regions, non-minority firms in those fields have little chance of competing for the contracts.

The major SBA program, the so-called 8-A program, now requires minority firms to phase out their dependence on federal contracts within nine years. But the Defense and Transportation departments' set-aside programs have no such requirements, an absence the review suggests should be rectified.

Defense, in addition, allows firms to assert on their own that they are minority-owned and operated. That, the review asserts, makes it susceptible to abuse, and cases are cited of firms falsely representing themselves to be owned by blacks or Hispanics, or of front companies for large non-minority companies concealing their ownership structure.

The review suggests that recent audits of the 8-A contracts show some recipients are disguising their net worth and that the law setting up the program needs to be changed to require fuller reporting.

Overall, the review says, an intera-

gency group should come up with ways to tighten the test of who is economically disadvantaged, develop new standards for when any individual firm no longer needs special help in receiving government work, establish more stringent safeguards against front firms, and establish measures to reduce concentrating set-asides in certain business fields.

The review provides a strong defense of the original presidential executive order issued by Lyndon B. Johnson, and continued by every president since, on which most affirmative actions programs are based. That order, a major target for many Republicans, asserts that those who get government business must make a good faith effort

to reach goals of minority and female participation in their firms.

The review also suggests that Vice President Gore work with Congress and within the administration to find a way to give specific preferences in government set-aside contracts to those firms located in economically disadvantaged areas.

In addition, Clinton, as part of the review, will issue today a new executive order requiring that all departments and agencies examine their affirmative action programs and eliminate any that create quotas, allow preferences for unqualified individuals, result in reverse discrimination, or continue even after the equal opportunity purposes are achieved.

President to Outline Broad Standards To Keep Affirmative Action Programs

By MICHAEL K. FRISBY
And VIVECA NOVAK

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—A White House review of affirmative action outlines broad standards that programs must meet if they are to continue, but concludes that such policies are still needed to redress discrimination.

President Clinton is to outline the principles in a long-awaited speech today. They are: Programs can't create quotas, preferences for unqualified people or reverse discrimination and they can't continue after their goals are achieved.

For now, the president avoids canceling programs that don't meet his standards by issuing a directive that all agencies work with the Justice Department to determine if their programs meet the "strict scrutiny" standard newly imposed by the Supreme Court. Clearly though, the Justice Department may eliminate or force reforms on some programs in the future.

"While our nation has made enormous strides towards eliminating inequality and barriers to opportunity, the job is not complete," Mr. Clinton wrote in his directive.

Gore to Lead New Board

The president also will appoint Vice President Al Gore to lead a Community Empowerment Board designed to make more contracts available to poor areas. As reported, the administration wants race and gender set-aside programs, for instance, to include a new category for businesses in disadvantaged communities. This would open the door for white businesses to qualify for the programs.

Civil-rights officials conceded last night that Mr. Clinton didn't endorse the status quo, and that programs now face a tougher review. Still, Barbara Arnwine, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, praised the president for documenting discrimination, even that by the federal government. "It is a significant document," she said of the report, adding that it was appropriate for the president to let the Justice Department determine what programs meet the new legal standards.

In the controversial procurement area, Mr. Clinton's review found that flexible goals for contracting by minority-owned and woman-owned businesses "are not in themselves unfair." But the review calls for substantial new safeguards, such as tightening the tests for being classed as economically disadvantaged, preventing business owners from hiding assets under a spouse's name; ending participation if a company shows it no longer needs special treatment; and increasing penalties against firms that aren't actually owned by minorities or women and those obtaining contracts and selling them to other companies.

The White House also wants to end the excessive use of minority- or woman-owned companies in particular regions or industries, a move to counter charges that whites in certain locations or industries

are constantly shut out of contracting.

In addition, the White House review said that:

- Minorities and women continue to be underrepresented in the federal bureaucracy's upper ranks, and tensions could worsen as the government gets smaller.

- The budget of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should be increased to handle a chronic backlog of complaints.

- Race-targeted scholarship programs should be used as a legal remedy for past discrimination or a tool to achieve diverse student bodies. It says education programs have had few adverse effects on non-beneficiaries.

- It supports efforts by the Federal Communication Commission to ensure the ownership of broadcasting stations by women and minorities — including a program eliminated by Congress this year granting tax advantages to those who sell stations to minorities.

- The military has had broad success at integrating its ranks, including recent efforts by the Navy and the Marine Corps to set explicit goals to increase the numbers of minority officers. It recommends further study of whether military policies in this area can be adapted to other environments.

Mr. Clinton's decision to protect affirmative action will have huge political implications. In a way, the president is making the judgment that not alienating a base of blacks and liberal whites is, on this issue, more important than courting angry white males.

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who argued for strong support of affirmative action, said there was no retreat by the president. "We cannot retreat from programs that work," he said. "These programs are not based just on past discrimination, but on continuing discrimination."

Bigger changes may be coming, however. The Justice Department will set up a group to work with the agencies that will include staff members from the civil-rights division, the office of legal counsel and other units to analyze government affirmative-action programs.

Supreme Court Standards

In fact, the administration has essentially deferred to the standards outlined by the Supreme Court's *Adarand Constructors Inc. vs. Peña* case as opposed to setting its own, despite its long review. The court said that such programs must serve a "compelling governmental interest" and must be "narrowly tailored to meet that interest." A Justice Department analysis of the decision and recent case law will provide the framework for analyzing current programs.

Moreover, agencies are confused: It isn't clear, for instance, whether they need to show past discrimination on a state-by-state basis or nationally for a specific area, such as road construction. A Justice Department official acknowledged that is still an open question.

OPINION USA

Affirmative action forgets its roots

I was there at its inception and it didn't require quotas or reverse discrimination, says LBJ aide,

As one who was present at the creation of affirmative action programs, I have watched the public debate over the issue with growing amazement. It is as uninformed as it is irate.

The nature of the argument is best described by William Shakespeare's line, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." If it were to stay on that level, it would do no harm.



By George Reedy, press secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Unfortunately, a picture is being painted of a society in which competent white males are being shoved aside to provide positions for women and minorities — positions they do not deserve. This idea is one I hope President Clinton will dispel today.

The picture bears no resemblance to reality. But it can convert affirmative action into a symbol that could be used as a battering ram to destroy needed efforts to advance equal employment opportunity for all our citizens. This picture had better be straightened out now.

The concept of affirmative action had its birth during the period that Lyndon B. Johnson, as vice president, was appointed by President Kennedy to chair of the Presidential Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. Johnson designated me as his top assistant for liaison with the staff, which consisted of Department of Labor officials. They would investigate specific charges of discrimination, but policy was in the hands of Johnson's commission.

We started out by exploring the issues, which we found complicated. The problem was not a simple question of white employers refusing to hire minorities. It was a matter of an entire society organized to keep



UPI

"You do not wipe out scars of centuries by saying, 'Now you're free to go where you want and do as you desire.'"

— President Lyndon Johnson, 1965 speech spelling out need for affirmative action

blacks out of the economic mainstream. A few examples will help explain the situation.

One of our first "cases" involved an employer who was perfectly willing to hire blacks, who were plentiful in his general geographical area. Unfortunately, zoning restrictions made it impossible for any minority to live within a practical commuting distance from his plant. Another employer in a Southern state wanted to start hiring blacks early because he thought if he got in on the employment market early, he could hire the best. To that end, he tried to find a black personnel manager.

Men who fit his needs existed, but they would not go into a Southern town where they could not use the normal facilities. One of them said to me, "I am not going to take a job in any town where my wife cannot go into a department store and try on a dress." Even worse was the type of education that was available to black

children. This was a period when their only reasonably large numbers of successful role models were black undertakers and black numbers writers. Try persuading those 1960 children to study physics or chemistry — fields they considered "white man's business."

It was obvious that a jump-start was needed to give blacks a genuine crack at the job market. One of the concepts that emerged from our discussions was affirmative action. From the very start, it really worked.

Let us be absolutely clear on its nature, however. It did not contemplate hiring quotas or pressure to force employers to "favor" minorities. Instead, it meant efforts to let blacks know that the jobs were available and to make certain that qualifications were truly being reviewed without bias. Many firms under this program agreed to advertise in newspapers read by blacks, to contact officials at black universities and to abolish discriminatory features in their plants, such as segregated lunchrooms, recreation areas and toilets.

I've never seen any examples of the reverse discrimination many whites fear, and a recent survey by Professor Alfred Blumrosen of Rutgers University found that only 100 reverse discrimination cases among 1,000 had made their way to the federal courts from 1990 to 1994. In only six of those cases did the courts find it necessary to invalidate affirmative action programs because they had become discriminatory.

At the time then-vice president Johnson chaired the commission, only blacks — and to a lesser extent, Latin-Americans — were regarded as minorities in need of protection or assistance. Since then, the field has broadened because of the addition of women.

However, the bottom line remains the same. The affirmative action program requires no quotas and no reverse discrimination. It only asks that all Americans have equal employment opportunities and be hired on the basis of their qualifications to do their jobs.

Should these programs be debated? Of course. But present the facts as facts and in context. Don't let a program fall on the basis of massive misunderstanding.

George Reedy is currently emeritus professor of communications at Marquette University.

Boston builder lays set-asides kept him going

'If more people had a chance, there would be more' firms like his

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

AI

BOSTON — Ted Webster looks into a 40-foot-deep section of the huge Central Artery road and tunnel project. Below, a dozen white men in red hard hats install columns and unload duct work. One black laborer works beside them.

"With affirmative action, this is what a job site looks like," says Webster, underlining his words with a sweep of the arm. "What would it look like without it?"

To minority contractors like Webster, a black man who built a successful construction business based on contracts set aside for minorities, the answer is as clear as the Boston skyline beyond his shoulder. They believe it will look whiter and more male, especially if the recent Supreme Court decision limiting the use of racial preferences in federal contracting puts a practical end to affirmative action programs.

Undeterred by the court ruling, President Clinton, in a long-anticipated speech today, intends to explain his continuing support for some federal affirmative action — and even propose that some set-aside programs be broadened to include white-owned businesses in poor areas.

Action by the White House or Congress will affect at least 7,000 minority-owned construction firms across the nation.

But opponents of affirmative action, which provides preferences for minorities and women in hiring, contracting and college admissions, say those who work hard and play by the rules will still thrive without government help.

"Getting rid of this protective racial sorting solves two problems," says Abigail Thernstrom of the Manhattan Institute. One is the "message to whites about black incompetence, about their inability to compete." The other is "well-

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Continued from 1A

known corruption" by minorities fronting for white-controlled business owners.

In Massachusetts, just 7.4% of contracts were awarded to minority-owned companies in 1993, despite an executive order requiring 10% compliance.

And after the Supreme Court's 1989 decision restricted the use of state and local affirmative action programs, minority construction contracts nationwide fell more than 20%, says the National Association of Minority Contractors.

Now, backers of affirmative action fear wider repercussions since the Supreme Court ruled the standard must be applied to federal programs, too.

In Boston, where whites violently protested busing in the 1970s, arguments against affirmative action ring hollow to minority contractors like Webster. "That's like demanding people don't break the law and not having a police department," he says. "There's just not a will to make it work."

Webster, 53, only had "the will to go" and a broken-down Mack dump truck when he started his business in 1976.

A white friend gave him the truck and a tip: The Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority planned to modernize Boston's subway system and needed minority contractors to comply with government regulations.

"If not for affirmative action, I would not have started

the company," he says. "The only shot we had was to have a program that required we work on the project."

But what Webster saw as an opportunity, critics see as an unfair advantage. They call it reverse discrimination.

Today, Webster Engineering Co. is one of the largest minority-owned highway and heavy construction firms in New England. Annual revenues top \$15 million and the company employs an average of 65 people. Most of those are white. Just

35% of Webster's employees are minorities, a typical proportion in cities like New York, Kansas City and Boston where union labor — most of it white — prevails. Nationwide, 60% of employees of minority contractors are black, Hispanic, Asian or women.

This fall, Webster Engineering finishes its largest job ever, an \$11 million subcontract to relocate utility lines, pour concrete and move excavated material on the \$8 billion Central Artery/Third Tunnel project.

White-owned companies on the "Big Dig" need firms like Webster's to comply with President Nixon's 1969 Philadelphia Plan, mandating federal contractors increase minorities on construction jobs.

A decade before, Webster had quit high school and followed a sweetheart to Boston from Atlantic City, N.J.

Six months later the girl dumped him but Webster decided to stay.

For the next 15 years, he worked at more than two dozen jobs and learned Boston's racial dynamics.

There were "certain places blacks did not go," including then all-white Dorchester, where he now lives and works.

Once, he went to City Hall on business and accidentally wandered into an anti-busing protest. A white man hit him on the head with a piece of wood.

"Racism is rampant," says Paul Wilkins, Webster's white general superintendent. "I hear it all the time, even from people who know darn well who I work for. Payback's a bitch and (blacks) got 200 years of payback due."

In the 1970s, Webster decided to collect his payback.

It took eight months to repair the dump truck before he could rent it out for excavation and hauling.

His first big job was a \$500,000 contract to build a high school playing field. Like

most jobs that followed, it required minority participation.

Over the years, the company repaired Connecticut's Thomaston Dam, cleaned up Superfund sites in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and hauled excavated material from a wastewater tunnel project in Boston Harbor. By 1990, revenues exceeded \$6 million.

Many fledgling businesses make mistakes, but Webster blamed some of his on a lack of mentoring, common in con-

struction where many white companies are family-owned.

"We got screwed so much by general contractors," he says. "We were brand-new at this."

Financing has been a constant problem. "Minority contractors are redlined" by banks and bonding companies, says Webster — even when their collateral and credit matches that of whites.

But through "tenacity, luck, pride" — and affirmative action — Webster made his first

profit after 12 years in business. Success, however, did not necessarily bring respect.

Webster has seen "the enthusiasm drop" when white job applicants walk into his office.

He has seen strangers address his white employees under the assumption that they, not he, are the boss.

He knows many white contractors privately question his competence, but he rejects Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas' contention that affir-

mative action stamps him with "a badge of inferiority."

"People have a negative connotation when they hear 'minority,'" says Jake Foote, a white supervisor at Webster Engineering. "But Ted wouldn't put up with somebody if they were not doing their job, just because they're black."

But it is affirmative action's perceived effect on individual white men that now threatens it. Webster believes his reputation will save him from the financial ruin he predicts awaits younger, less experienced minority-owned companies.

For now, he's planning to pass the business on to daughter Shelley, 32, the company's treasurer, who worries about life after affirmative action.

"We'll not only be minority-owned but woman-owned. That may prove to be double jeopardy." Which is why, her father argues, affirmative action must remain: "If more people had a chance, there'd be more Webster Engineerings."

Clinton expected today to declare support for programs

President Clinton is expected to defend most federal affirmative action programs in his speech today. His basic premise will be "the job's not done yet," says White House spokesman Mike McCurry. Democrats briefed Tuesday, approved White House officials say Clinton also will say he:
▲ Opposes quotas
▲ Believes preferences should be made available only to qualified recipients
▲ Vows reverse discrimination punished like any other kind of discrimination
▲ Wants to broaden federal contracting awards to include businesses in some poor areas, even if the businesses are white-owned
Clinton also is expected to assign some Republicans he believes have damaged the issue
CNN will carry the 11 a.m. ET speech live. — Bill Nichols

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1995

The other side of 'quotas'

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

Thomas Stewart has a name for the dozens of rejections his guardrail and signing company has received.

He calls them his "Sorry Tom — could not use your firm, although your quotation was low bid" letters.

In every case, the prime contractors cite federal affirmative action rules that require them to allot 10% of a government award's value to disadvantaged business enterprises, widely known as DBEs. The program presumes minorities and women are socially and economically disadvantaged.

Tom Stewart is white.

In the last 15 years, he says his Spokane, Wash., company has lost \$10 million to \$15 million in subcontracts because of DBE "quotas." Though he won't give figures, he says his small family-run firm loses up to 40% of jobs to "strong, well-run" minority and women-owned firms that don't need government help.

"I'm not trying to come across as whining or crying," says Stewart, who employs 25 workers during the busy season. "I've always refused to say we are a victim."

But Stewart says he is the one at a disadvantage. Prime contractors often award subcontracts to higher-bidding DBEs to meet affirmative action goals.

"You were low on this project," wrote Bill Hammett of Mid Columbia Paving

Co., "but, again, we were caught in the minority goal trap."

Stewart hopes that "trap" has been pried open by the Supreme Court's recent ruling restricting federal affirmative action programs. *Adarand vs. Peña* involved a white-owned Colorado guardrail company that lost a contract to a minority firm, despite submitting the lowest bid. The prime contractor had received a bonus for using the minority company.

In a letter to Transportation Secretary Federico Peña before the decision, Stewart wrote, "We, like all conscientious Americans, are very much in favor of helping the truly disadvantaged but reverse discrimination and quotas are NOT THE WAY!!!"

Transportation officials say affirmative action programs aren't intended to hurt whites, particularly subcontractors like Stewart. His specialty, guardrails, is commonly the part of road construction contracts set aside to meet minority goals.

Frank Gurney Inc., named for Stewart's stepfather who founded it, competes against a half-dozen DBE firms in three states. Blacks are .3% of the population in Montana and Idaho and 3.1% in Washington, so DBE competitors are Native American, Asian and women.

Stewart, writing Peña, says 95% of "quota dollars" go to "less than 5%" of registered minority and women-owned firms and they have become so successful that they "should have graduated from

the program long ago."

Arlene Peterson, president of Peterson Bros., a Sumner, Wash., firm awarded several contracts over lower-bidding Stewart, wasn't aware she won because of DBE requirements. "I don't think I need affirmative action," she says. "We run a very good company. We do very competitive work."

But Bob Wong, the Chinese-American owner of Portland, Ore.'s Junlo Corp., says affirmative action does help. "We do have some sort of an inroad because (prime contractors) have to look at you and consider you. But there's enough competition out there that if you haven't set up a good rapport with someone, they can go elsewhere."

Wong has lost at least two contracts to Stewart. "It works both ways," he says.

Mostly, Stewart says, it works only one way — against businessmen like him. "The competitive bidding system has always been something ... sacred," says Stewart, who with his brother inherited the business. "That's been uprooted, set aside for nothing, except to make our government look like it's doing something for minorities. To me, they're not even minorities. They're just other people."

To Stewart, affirmative action won't remedy past discrimination: "I didn't do that. I don't discriminate against anybody," he says. "I've paid my dues to help whatever wrong I did not commit. Isn't it time to let the playing field be level now?"

TO: Alex. S. Herman

FYI re what Mayor Acevedo raised Wed. we.
Jeff Farrow

Cifuentes exit may prove a prudent political move

Washington may hold more potential than S.J.

BEHIND THE NEWS

7/31/95

By JORGE LUIS MEDINA
OF THE STAR

Now, consider Cifuentes and his track record.

He worked hard to get Rosselló to La Fortaleza in 1992, a campaign so successful it blew the Popular Democratic Party out of the water, giving the NPP not only La Fortaleza but most of the municipalities and the Senate and the House as well.

Cifuentes was not deeply involved in the 1993 plebiscite, which came during a no-holds-barred internal struggle that pitted the NPP mayors against Cifuentes and often times against the governor himself. His involvement in the 1994 constitutional referendum was even less. And the NPP lost both events badly.

Those two defeats must have raised the value of Cifuentes' stock immensely, along with his meteoric rise in Washington, D.C. politics. He not only engineered Rosselló's ascent as the island's top Democrat in the eyes of Clinton and the Democratic leadership, but quite adroitly managed to whittle away the PDP's influence in Washington and to block its leadership's access to the corridors of power.

But if he's so good, why this move? It would stand to reason that if Cifuentes were a crackerjack Washington power broker, Rosselló would call him home to help in a campaign that, make no mistake, is going to be a tough one. No incumbent finds it easy to win re-election coming out of two straight defeats.

But Rosselló is doing just the opposite; he's sending his most trusted lieutenant away from home field just when the campaign is about to start. Why? Washington voters don't vote in Puerto Rico, do they?

The fact that Cifuentes had a lot to do with the NPP's inroads in Washington and the governor is permanently

allowing him there would suggest that the fate of Rosselló's local campaign is closely tied up with the results of the NPP's Washington strategy. And that would make sending Cifuentes to Washington a most prudent move.

There are two things in Washington that have popular and statehood alike worried: The Bush memo and the results of the 1993 status plebiscite.

It should be noted that, while the NPP was involved in

Operation Kennedy early last week, PDP President Héctor Luis Acevedo slipped through the cracks and wrangled a meeting with Clinton. So what if he was accompanied by 20 other mayors, the important thing is that he got the president to say he would consider action on the Bush memo.

What would happen if Clinton decides to revoke the Bush memo and, say, draft another one granting the island party in federal social programs and protection for local agriculture and Section 938? It is within his powers to do so, and if he does, the NPP would have more than a tough row to hoe. It would have an impossible task before it, and its campaign would collapse.

What would happen if the president decided to accept the commonwealth formula drafted by the populars for the 1993 plebiscite? It may be unconstitutional, but if it is, it would take the courts to decide it. And in the meantime, the PDP would have the equivalent of a political atom bomb to blow the statehooders to kingdom come.

So it would be safe to guess that a lot of red lights are blinking in the NPP's thick tank. Because it would seem that Washington is voting in our 1996 elections after all. And that would explain Rosselló and Cifuentes' move.

As a private citizen, Cifuentes will continue talking for the Rosselló administration in Washington, but privately, and completely disconnected from the actual administration, because he will no longer be a public official. And you can bet the farin he will do his damndest to keep the Bush memo alive and the commonwealth formula unaccepted.

Working for the Clinton campaign, he will have added influence and will be able to concentrate on blocking the PDP's effort to re-establish itself as the island's major force in Washington.

After all, Rosselló's campaign does not hinge on Resident Commissioner Carlos Romero Barceló winning the chairmanship of the local Democratic Party chapter. If he does, that's icing on the cake. But if he doesn't, Rosselló is still top Democrat, and Washington Cifuentes' town.

And the long-range strategy to bring statehood before the millennium may continue unimpeded.

JUL 31 1995

Rosselló plans to define all status options in '98 plebiscite

By ROBERT FRIEDMAN

Star Washington Bureau

7/31/95

BURLINGTON, Vermont -- Gov. Rosselló said Sunday that his administration may define all the status options -- including commonwealth and independence -- in the 1998 plebiscite, which will be held if the New Progressive Party retains power in the next elections.

"We may rule out things we think are not possible," said the governor, referring to the as-yet-unanswered proposals contained in the commonwealth definition in the November 1993 plebiscite.

Rosselló said he would consider taking this action if Congress and the White House fail to respond to the proposals made in the commonwealth option, which won the 1993 plebiscite with 48 percent of the vote over statehood, which drew 46 percent. Independence got 6 percent.

"We will have to see what Congress and the White House have done by 1998," Rosselló said. "If they do not respond, or say 'we cannot implement protection for agriculture or full participation in social programs or fully establish a compact,' then it would be unrealistic to again put those things in a definition of commonwealth status," the governor said.

Rosselló made his remarks in an interview before attending a session of the National Governors Association's annual meeting being held here, from Saturday until Tuesday.

The commonwealth option, defined by the Popular Democratic Party, proposed to protect island agricultural products, to increase federal funding and to obtain from the White House an updated statement about the U.S. Puerto Rico commonwealth relationship.

Rosselló said if none of these proposals become reality, then voters in the next plebiscite would "need another look at the true options."

The party in power would define those options.

The governor said that the White House response that, as a result of the plebiscite, it would improve the island economy was not a specific enough answer to the points in the commonwealth plebiscite proposal.

"It is probably naive to allow each party to define its own status," said the governor. He noted that in the island's first status plebiscite, in 1967, the ruling Popular Democratic Party drew up all the definitions.

NPP officials doubt Clinton will review memo

Two top New Progressive Party officials said Saturday they doubt statements by Popular Democratic Party President Héctor Luis Acevedo that President Clinton plans to review a memo issued by former President George Bush, ordering that federal agencies treat Puerto Rico like a state.

Resident Commissioner Carlos Romero Barceló and Sen. Kenneth McClintock cast doubt on commitments made by Acevedo after he took part in a meeting, with other mayors, with the President at the White House on Wednesday night.

McClintock said he wondered what sort of discussion Clinton and Acevedo could have had during a meeting "to discuss national affairs with some 20 mayors."

Romero speculated that Acevedo raised the matter during the brief photo opportunity with Clinton and used the president's comments as the basis for his statements to the press.

AMBASSADOR'S JOURNAL

Austrians don't shrink from confronting ugly past

By Swanee Hunt

It's been an extraordinary few weeks in Austria, a time of remembering, retelling, confessing, celebrating. Emotions are deep and mixed, as Austrians mark the 50th anniversary of the days when American and Russian troops poured over their western and eastern borders, meeting with a historic hug at the little town of Erlauf on May 7.



Swanee Hunt

On the one hand, it's a time of well-deserved joy, as Austrians think of the progress of their second republic over its first 50 years. On the other hand, it's a time of darkness, as they come to terms with their complicity in the Holocaust that took the lives of 6 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of others. But alongside those other feelings is a genuine sense of gratitude to the Americans who sacrificed to change the course of Austrian history.

One of the great tragedies of any war is that people become statistics — nameless faces, or faceless names. But in this time of remembrances, there have been some extraordinary moments, when the raw goodness of real people has shone through the ceremonial overlay.

I will never forget the evening we honored a spry 87-year-old, Col. Richard Seibel, the American commander whose troops liberated Mauthausen concentration camp on May 5, 1945. At that Austrian camp the colonel found 18,000 emaciated prisoners walking and lying among 700 corpses. In spite of his heroic efforts to set up an instant little city to manage the crisis, another 1,300 died, bringing the total number of camp deaths to over 260,000. "People treat me as if I was a hero, but I was only doing my job," he says, matter-of-factly. "Sometimes life just puts you in those situations."

One of the Mauthausen prisoners who was still alive was a young architect named Simon, Austrian-born but working in Prague when his life collapsed under the weight of Hitler's evil. Many years later weighing less than 100 pounds, and badly injured from a beating, he was carried to Seibel. He realized the importance of recording the hell in which 6 million Jews had perished and spent the next days writing out his memories, as well as founding an

organization to collect specific details from the other survivors. The figure of Simon Wiesenthal has been portrayed in numerous documentaries, by stars such as Lawrence Olivier. But listening to him pay tribute to his dear friend of 50 years, it was Simon and Bill.

A third person at our dinner table was Prem Dobias, interpreter in five languages for Col. Seibel. (There were 21 nationalities imprisoned at Mauthausen.) "You saved my life!" the colonel exclaimed lightly. "You saved mine," the former inmate replied, with the weight of literal truth.

That dinner with Col. Seibel was one of dozens of memorial events these last few days. In true Viennese style, where culture is king, the State Operate held a three-hour concert of music that was banned under Hitler because of the Jewish affiliations of the artists. On a stage draped in black, the personal lives of so many individual composers were described, and then their works were performed by the likes of Placido Domingo and Jose Carreras. The cover of the program was a picture of the opera house, with Nazi flags flying. And as a chilling reminder, behind the singers loomed a gigantic screen, on which was projected a photograph of the audience five decades ago, standing where we now sat, arms raised in a rigid salute to their Fuhrer in the Kaiser's box.

All of which made me think of how easily we move from individual beliefs and convictions, to be swept along by a current of emotion and myth. Hitler's success was built upon the extraordinary talent of his propaganda wizard, Joseph Goebbels, whose work is now included in a display at the Vienna City hall. There, an extraordinary collection of paintings, postcards, newspapers, posters, figurines, and spoken slogans trace 15 centuries of anti-Semitic themes: Jews as the killers of God, as usurers, as wanderers, as global conspirators, as vermin to be exterminated. The display hangs in the harmonious halls of the very building where many of the most repressive decrees were signed — a stark statement by the Austrians, distilling the stereotypes that poisoned their country half a century ago, and that continue to course through the veins of Western society today.

Colorado resident Swanee Hunt is U.S. ambassador to Austria. The views and opinions expressed are solely the author's and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of State.

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SPECIAL WELFARE UPDATE

The Democratic Leadership Council

Friday, August 4, 1995

Senate Democrats Introduce "Work First" Welfare Alternative

Democrats took an important first step yesterday toward seizing the initiative on welfare reform. Senate Democrats introduced the "Work First" welfare reform bill, which borrows heavily both in substance and name from the Progressive Policy Institute's proposal. Backed by the White House, "work first" is the type of welfare reform overwhelmingly supported by the public: It would move welfare recipients into private-sector jobs, meeting the test of real reform.

The welfare debate opens in the Senate today, and Republicans remain badly split. Moreover, none of the approaches they offer meet the test of real, work-based reform.

Democrats thus have the opportunity to gain the upper hand on this politically potent issue. Starting today, we should press our advantage on welfare at every turn, uniting behind the Senate Democratic bill. Here are its key elements:

1. It makes government assistance contingent on full cooperation and rapid progress toward getting a private sector job, reinforced by time limits.
2. It gives states much more flexibility but holds them accountable for the only result that matters: getting recipients into private sector jobs. Bonuses and sanctions for states are keyed strictly to success in placing welfare recipients in real private-sector work.
3. It would change the culture of the welfare system, by changing its basic incentives. It permits states to try various models, such as using vouchers and private services to build a competitive market for job placement and support; or turning welfare bureaucracies into employment agencies.
4. It makes work pay through child care funding and transitional health care benefits. This is a critical step because unless work is made more attractive financially than welfare, reform is impossible. Because of this key feature, it is far more likely to actually move welfare recipients into the workforce than GOP bills.
5. It addresses two key causes of welfare dependency through *tough new child enforcement laws* and provisions to reduce out-of-wedlock births that do not punish children.

As you talk up this bill, we urge you to make the following comparisons with the Republican bills:

- **Democrats** offer a radical but *responsible* plan that will move welfare recipients into private sector work while the **Republican** proposals abandon real work-based welfare reform for budget cutting.

- - more - -

This update is a special release of the weekly *DLC Fax*.

c/o The DLC Fax, Democratic Leadership Council, 518 C Street NE, Washington, DC 20002

P:202-546-0007 F:202-546-0028 E-MAIL: dclfax@dlcppi.org

AUG - 4 1995

Work First Cont'd

- **Democrats** impose tough work requirements, and put the mechanisms and funding in place *so states can meet the requirements* without cutting other needed programs. **Republicans** block grant impose similar work requirements *without offering states the mechanisms and money to meet them*—they pretend to pay for work requirements by shifting funds from the food stamp program and job training programs for the American worker.
- **Democrats** offer *financial incentives in the form of a bonus to states* for placing and keeping recipients in work. **Republicans** offer *states a disincentive to meet work requirements by making it cheaper for states to swallow penalties for failing to meet work requirements than for actually putting recipients to work.*
- **Democrats** "make work pay" by guaranteeing child care and extending health care benefits to those who work so no one who has left welfare for work is forced to return because of a shortage of child care or health care. (Making work pay more than welfare is a prerequisite to reform.) **Republicans** offer no *real* money to "make work pay" for welfare recipients through child care and health care benefits.
- **Democrats** require recipients to engage in work activities as soon as they begin receiving temporary assistance. **Republicans** don't *require* recipients to work until 24 months have passed.
- **Democrats** expand and continue to support the Earned-Income Tax Credit (a tax credit designed to supplement the wages of the working poor) as a means of encouraging work and lifting working-poor families up to the poverty line. **Republicans** discourage work by demanding significant cuts in the EITC, proving they are not serious about work.
- **Democrate** offer teen mothers from unsafe or unstable homes a new beginning in supervised group residences called "Second Chance Homes" while they and their children attend school. **Republicans**, by allowing states to cut unwed teen mothers and their children off welfare, *don't give* those teen mothers and their children a second chance.
- **Democrats** make welfare payments temporary and contingent on rapid movement toward full-time, unsubsidized work. Democrats abolish the JOBS program, and in its place create an employment system linking welfare recipients to private labor markets and using private sector organizations in competition with the government.
- **Democrats** fund their "Work First" program entirely through savings created from cuts in existing welfare spending. Work First is cost-effective, saves \$15 billion over seven years for deficit reduction and benefits everyone concerned: recipients transition from welfare to work and, as welfare rolls decrease, states and taxpayers save money.

Among the key sponsors of "Work First" — Sens. Daschle, Breaux, Mikulski, and Lieberman.

To order any PPI welfare selection, including the Work First Policy Briefing, contact the DLC-PPI publications desk at (202) 546-0007 or field@dlcpqi.org.

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TRANSPORTATION NEWS
 NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION NEWS
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540, 202-365-7000

Mr. Pena's Mini-Deal

AFTER MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS, the United States and Britain are close to a deal that will modestly improve air service between the two countries. The Clinton administration sees this as a respectable step toward the larger goal: free aviation trade with Britain. Critics say the deal doesn't go far enough and will only discourage more serious and far-reaching talks later.

The critics are right to be concerned, but they also are wrong. Trading rights between strong countries move ahead in manageable chunks, and the U.S.-U.K. deal is just that. By increasing choices for some passengers, giving airlines a bit more operating freedom and setting the stage for broader aviation talks, the proposed deal shapes up as a clear, if limited, benefit for airlines and consumers.

Britain is America's most important international aviation market, but it also is among the most restricted. In part, that's the result of a protectionist deal Britain forced on the United States in 1977 — and which Washington has been trying to change for the last 18 years.

Indeed, Federico Pena, the transportation secretary, pledged in 1982 to push for an "open skies" or free trade agreement with Britain. After two years of shadow-boning, Mr. Pena has produced a deal that doesn't even come close.

Britain has steadfastly refused to accept the chief U.S. demand: more U.S. flights to popular Heathrow airport. British Airways jealously guards the protectionist advantage it now enjoys at Heathrow; since Britain wants little from the United States at this time, it has no incentive to make big concessions at Heathrow.

Still, Mr. Pena and his counterpart, British Transport Minister Brian Mawhinney, have cobble together a limited agreement to improve air service. The United States gets the best part of the deal: the right to add another U.S. carrier — United Airlines — to the Chicago-London route, which is now served only by American Airlines and British Airways. Access to U.K. regional airports also would be improved. In return, BA gets more flights in its existing Philadelphia-London market and the right to transport some U.S. government passengers.

Journal
 of
 Commerce

Fri

May 24, 1995

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This deal is hardly a coup for the United States. One U.S. airline, United, gets the chief benefit. This has sent other U.S. airlines into paroxysms, especially American, which will face a new competitor at Chicago. Yet there are good reasons for pursuing this accord.

For starters, Mr. Penn and Mr. Mawhinney do not intend to stop with this "mini-deal." The British have pledged to immediately begin a new round of talks on issues the United States cares about most: better U.S. access to Heathrow, improved cargo rights, freer pricing and a more open charter regime. To be sure, a broader follow-on deal is not assured. The British can be world-class foot-draggers. But Mr. Mawhinney seems genuinely interested in gradually improving aviation ties.

Indeed, adopting an all-or-nothing approach to trade talks — this is what American Airlines is demanding — rarely works. Trading nations have spent nearly 50 years working through the GATT to gradually lower trade barriers. The key to the GATT has been to keep moving forward, and Mr. Penn's deal with Britain follows that example.

Consider, for example, the new Chicago-London service the United States gets in this deal. Under the current agreement with Britain, the United States can add a second U.S. airline in that market when American Airlines' passenger count tops 400,000 a year in two straight years. But American has been manipulating fares and service out of Chicago to stay below that threshold and keep a second U.S. airline out. That has kept fares higher than they should be and hurt London-bound passengers in the Chicago area and in western states. The new accord fixes that problem.

United's entry into the Chicago-London market would take some business away from American and BA. But United more likely would benefit from new demand spurred by lower fares, and from Western passengers who no longer would have to fly circuitous routes. By comparison, the benefits British Airways would get from the deal are worth much less than what U.S. airlines stand to gain.

Certainly, Mr. Penn's strategy is not the only one. If he rejected a mini-deal and withheld all new access to the U.S. market, pressure might build on Britain to strike a better agreement later on. But this approach is more likely to produce a stalemate than real results.

Incremental trade deals are, admittedly, frustrating. But until countries realize the damage protectionism causes — and most haven't in the aviation arena — slow progress may be the best we can hope for.

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MIKE GROLL/Bufalo N

Democratic National Chairman Don Fowler, right, addresses local Democrats Tuesday evening during cocktail reception. At left is John Sullivan, the party's state co-chairman.

Democratic leaders see WNY as key to Clinton re-election bid in 1996

By ANTHONY CARDINALE
News Staff Reporter

President Clinton must win big in Western New York in 1996 if he is to carry New York, without which he cannot win re-election, national and state Democratic leaders agreed here on Tuesday.

Don Fowler, co-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and John Sullivan of Oswego, co-chairman of the state Democratic Party, met with about 60 local Democrats in the Radisson Hotel in Cheektowaga.

In the wake of last November's Republican victories, they said, the Democratic Party must rebuild itself from the ground up if Clinton is to win another term.

Fowler thanked Sullivan and various county Democratic chairmen from throughout Western New York for meeting with him "at this difficult time in the history of the party in New York State."

The state Democratic Party has a \$450,000 debt. Since the November elections, the party that elected Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mario M. Cuomo as governor was

forced to vacate its three-room Albany suite in favor of a one-room office, as well as close its New York City headquarters.

"You folks in New York need to understand how important this state is," Fowler said. "In any conversation about the 1996 race, California is very important, but New York is just as important. The real contest in the general election will be in that industrial band of states from Minnesota to Massachusetts. And in that band, New York is the crown jewel."

"We absolutely have to be in shape to provide the president with a good vote in the primary next March. We can't win without New York."

Fowler said Clinton will campaign in Western New York "because the support of this part of the state is of vital importance to carrying New York State."

Joseph F. Crangle, former Erie County Democratic chairman, agreed.

"We'll carry New York in '96 if we do well in upstate New York in the local elections of '95," he said. "And that's where the focus

of the national party has to be if you can win local election '95, then you've got the basis which to build for the presidential election for '96."

County Clerk David J. S. who is challenging County Executive Gorski for the Democratic nomination this year, noted Erie County supported Clinton in 1992 but by a lower margin usual for a Democratic presidential candidate.

"From my point of view, said, "this county executive election is important to ensure Democrats hold onto this office in November, so that we can build an effective operation to win Clinton in '96 and retake the governor's mansion in '98."

Sullivan said that in the coming weeks he and state co-chairman Judith Hope will traverse the state and try to re-energize the party at the local level. After running for the Democratic Party "from the bottom up" during the Cuomo years, said, "we have a unique opportunity to rebuild the party from bottom up."

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1995



Michael Sneed

The Eraser Set . . .

Sneed hears rumors being spread School Supt. Arnie Johnson is thinking of plying her trade in New York. Stay tuned.



Arnie Johnson

Tipsville . . .

Dem da dem dem: Word is the big Dem convention fund-raiser set for July 24 at the Art Institute of Chicago has been canceled.

■ The word: The fate wasn't generating the cash. Stay tuned for another date. And maybe a new fund-raising consultant?

Tipsville II . . .

Cook County Clerk David Orr claims he has saved the county \$1 million on election printing contracts through his use of competitive bidding.

■ And latest word in the Cook County Board just approved a new set of election printing contracts that saved the county \$100,000 more.

Dim Data . . .

Details: The Money Line—Chicago attorney Joe Carl, who was finance chairman for the Democratic Senate campaign committee, has been named the committee's point person for the Dem convention to be held in Chicago.

Labour Lore . . .

Bill Fitzgerald, a candidate for business manager of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 134, is doing it the old-fashioned way. Translation: He's using hundreds of fellow electricians as precinct captains to drum up support for his candidacy by goin' door to door.

■ The linker: The union votes by mail, so he broke out every union member by ZIP code and assigned electricians to round the pavement in their areas.

Beach Bather . . .

Return to "Baywatch": Penny Marshall is said to be shopping a project about middle-age lifeguards trying to regain their youth. Set on the shores of New Jersey, it's "The Boys of Neptune," and Marshall's hoped-for stars are either Bruce Willis or Robert De Niro. Buff up, boys.

Ford Fodder . . .

Paging Harrison Ford: Paramount is planning yet another pic based on Tom Clancy's Jack Ryan novels. "Cardinal of the Kremlin" will be the next one down the pike, following last year's "Clear and Present Danger."



Harrison Ford

Live Jive . . .

After one of its most critically lambasted seasons ever, "Saturday Night Live" is shaking up the ranks. The writing staff is now getting a make-over. Expect the same to happen to the cast.

The Ladies' Room . . .

Swivatching possibility: Both Winona Ryder and Emma Thompson are being considered for "The Crucible," based on Arthur Miller's play about the Salem witch trials. Daniel Day-Lewis is already aboard.

Staff 'em . . .

Ringo Starr is taking the bus instead of a plane when his All-Starr Band goes on its U.S. concert tour. The former Beatle, who will be accompanied by wife Barbara Bach, claims it will be their way to see America.

Sneedings . . .

Chicago actor Gary Stiles, who was nominated for an Academy Award for his role in "Forrest Gump," was spotted spoofing linguine at Old Town's Ono's Restaurant.

Today's birthdays: Tom Jones, 55; Gwendolyn Brooks, 78; the former Prince, 37; Sherry Glaser, 38.

alexis

It's working

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Vol. LXXXX - No. 11

Saturday, May 20, 1995

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Asst. Labor Sec'y hits GOP on cuts

by Ethan Michaeli

It's a matter of priorities. Amid a warning from President Bill Clinton that he will veto \$16.4 billion in spending cuts approved this week by the Republican-controlled U.S. Congress, Republicans and Democrats in Washington have been squaring off over whose set of values should emerge as the guiding principle of government programs targeted to middle-class and low-income Americans.

Much of that debate, in turn,

*But Rep.
Porter points
to excess*

has centered on which party has the better plan to move those who are unemployed, under-skilled or unskilled from dependence on government to

independence.

But as the U.S. Congress also moves to trim its overall budget, activists who are working hard to save the programs at the grassroots level said they fear that regardless of which way the ax falls, they will suffer.

Assistant Labor Secretary Bernard Anderson said during a Thursday interview in *Defender* offices that Republicans were taking a "blunderbuss" approach to cutting housing, education and health care programs with-



Anderson

out regard to the need for those programs or the effect of the cuts.

(See CUTS, page 39)

Magic
make
Bulls
disappear
with win

(See page 48)

Dems, GOP square off on cuts

(CUTS, from page 1)

While the Clinton administration had removed job training programs deemed unnecessary under the "reinventing government" banner, Anderson maintained that the Republican efforts slashed programs based on their cost rather than their efficacy.

"The president's program is aimed at supporting middle-class families which need these programs to compete and meet the challenges of our society," Anderson said. "The other side does not look at these issues as priorities."

On the Republican side, however, one key legislator said the current system is made up of too many programs whose narrow designs prevent those in need from reaching these vital resources.

Reached in his Washington, D.C., office Thursday, U.S. Rep. John Porter (R-Deerfield), chairman of the subcommittee that oversees the budgets of programs at the Departments of Labor and Education, said that 163 programs in three federal departments created an unwieldy system.

The measurements of those programs, Porter added, were often irrelevant to their actual goals of moving individuals from

government dependence to work. In the future, Porter said he was gaining bipartisan support to create a "one-stop shopping" approach for all of those diverse job training programs.

"I can't speak for all Republicans but I can speak for this Republican: I want to make programs work for people," Porter explained.

"The question should be, are we moving people from where they are — unemployed or without skills — into real jobs with real skills?"

In the meantime, however, Porter, a moderate voice in the GOP, conceded that more extreme forces in the new Republican majority of the House of Representatives were inclined to remove these programs altogether.

Noting that the bill reached by a House-Senate committee was only 10 percent short of President Clinton's numerical goal, Porter nevertheless expressed frustration that the White House had not expressed its views during the committee process.

"I don't think the difference between what we've done and what the president finds acceptable are that great," Porter said. "This is bad politics. I think the American people are tired of this

back and forth."

Among those who will be most affected by the cuts, however, there was little confidence in either political party's approach. Jack Wuest, executive director of the Alternative Schools Coalition, said that the budget for year-round schools for high school drop-outs had already been cut by some \$200 million during a prior wave of recisions.

Even if the president's veto of the current recision bill sticks, Wuest said he was concerned that the Job Training and Partnership Act — legislation that provides \$1.2 billion for programs ranging from summer jobs to adult employment training — would remain on the negotiating table. While the Republicans seemed determined to slice into a wide variety of programs, Wuest said he interpreted the administration's priorities as concentrated on the middle class.

Either way, the low-income beneficiaries of programs, such as the alternative schools, would be left with few options.

"I don't trust them," Wuest confessed. "There are still going to be cuts when common sense says they need at least \$1.2 billion to address the minimum need."

Minimum wage plan is defended

BY ANTHONY NEELY
Free Press Business Writer

Assistant Secretary of Labor Bernard Anderson takes on two of the most contentious issues in the American workplace — affirmative action and the minimum wage — like an infielder turning a double play.

For starters, forget the idea that President Bill Clinton's proposed increase in the minimum wage will reduce hiring, said Anderson, a former economics professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

Anderson is in Detroit this weekend to speak to a convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

"The evidence does not sustain the view that a modest increase in the minimum wage has a detrimental effect on employment," said Anderson, citing a 1993 study by Princeton University professors David Card and Alan Krueger.

Their report measured the impact of an April 1992 minimum wage increase in New Jersey from \$4.25 an hour to \$5.05. Card and Krueger — who is the Labor Department's chief economist during a leave of absence from Princeton — found that hiring in fast food restaurants did not decline.

Clinton's proposal to boost the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour is still pending in Congress.

Anderson, who oversees enforcement of federal minimum wage laws and affirmative action rules at the Employment Standards Administration, said he's found that many small business owners who oppose a \$5.15 minimum wage already pay entry-level workers more than that.



HERMAN T. ALLEN/Detroit Free Press

Assistant Secretary of Labor Bernard Anderson enforces federal minimum wage laws.

They simply "don't want the government telling them how to run their business," Anderson said.

Misconception also fuels many of the current attacks on affirmative action, Anderson said.

For instance, while many believe that affirmative action rules for federal contractors are quota requirements, the rules don't actually require that companies hire a single minority or female worker, Anderson said.

"Under no circumstances are the contractors required to hire any number or any proportion of anybody," said Anderson. "All they're required to do is practice affirmative action," he said, meaning they must prepare serious plans for recruiting and promoting minorities and women.

If qualified candidates can't be found, so be it — but that's unlikely if a diligent search is made, Anderson said.

"We can't stop enforcing measures that ensure inclusion until we see substantial evidence that inclusion will take place in the absence of these policies," he said.

After all, he added, "We still see (job) discrimination *with* the policies" in place.

AMBASSADOR'S JOURNAL

Working women struggle on both sides of Atlantic

The plight of working women is an issue not just in America, but also in Austria and indeed throughout the world. I have now visited a number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Each of them is different. But in each of them women have much in common. These experiences have brought home to me just how much unites women on both sides of the Atlantic, and how useful it is for us to get together and seek common solutions to common problems.



Swanee Hunt

Attending the White House Conference on Working Women helped me crystallize these thoughts. As I walked into the beautiful room where the conference was held, I was struck by the sight of more than 200 Americans jammed, in clothes (and with skins) of every hue, crowding together. Though each represented a different organization or professional association, they had all gathered with a common agenda — stressing the importance of working women in the U.S.

Labor Secretary Robert Reich began the conference by discussing his department's recent report — *Working Women Count*. This survey of 250,000 women carried a discouragingly familiar refrain: Women still suffer from substandard pay and benefits; they are weary from juggling work and home; and they lack sufficient opportunities for job-training and advancement. Furthermore, two-thirds of all minimum wage workers are women, and wages in general are stagnant.

The report also illustrated how much things have changed. In 1960, for instance, only 28% of mothers in America worked. In 1993 that figure was 67%. Unfortunately, the economic empowerment of women is obviously not growing as fast as their representation in the workforce.

But there's hope for a change. Two very influential and important supporters of working women followed Reich to the lectern. The first was Hillary Clinton. She hit the nail on the head when she said: "Women's issues are not some separate category. Women share the same concerns as the rest of society."

Then came President Clinton, who described himself as the son, grandson, and husband of a working woman. His words were simple — and simply true: "Working

women do count. Improving their status is not just the fair and decent thing to do. It's also the smart thing to do."

Washington and Kiev may seem a long way apart, but in both the U.S. and in the Ukraine women are facing the same kinds of problems. I went to Kiev to speak to the Ukrainian preparatory conference for the United Nations meeting on women, which will take place in Beijing next September. As in other countries, the women of the Ukraine were coming together to identify the key issues they feel most urgently need to be addressed. I had been asked to join them because I'm now widely known in Central Europe as a highly visible American woman representing President Clinton.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the trip was the chance to meet Ukrainian women. I won't soon forget my talk with Olena, who sat on a sofa across from me, her face animated, and described to me the event that changed her life. It was the day she was passed over for a promotion, which went to a less-qualified party man. Olena did something brave and unusual for Kiev in 1989 — she took her story to the street, holding up a placard accusing the Community Party of discrimination.

As police gathered to take her away, her friends did too. Many were weeping. "Don't cry," she told them, "or I'll cry too, and then they'll destroy me." In the following months, the KGB monitored her house constantly. She sent her children to France for safety and stayed inside, the doors locked, lying on the floor, writing speeches.

Those days are long gone now, though the memories are obviously still fresh. But these memories are now mixing with newer ones. It's ironic that, after the fall of Communism, the status of women has taken a giant step backward. Although highly educated and trained, women now make up 80% of the unemployed. The dream of freedom is being overshadowed by a nightmare of hardship.

As I listened to Olena and to other women with similarly sad stories to tell, I couldn't help thinking back to that White House conference and to the wisdom in President Clinton's words. Working women do count. Improving their status, not just at home but around the world, is one of the best investments we can make.

Colorado resident Swanee Hunt is U.S. ambassador to Austria. The views and opinions expressed are solely the author's and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of State.

Alexis,

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LEGAL TIMES

LAW AND LOBBYING IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

WEEK OF JULY 17, 1995 • VOL. XVIII, NO. 9 • \$12.25

THE POLITICS OF CRIME

Cop Vote Is Clinton's to Lose

GOP Playing Catch-Up As 1996 Looms

BY DANIEL KLAIDMAN

Heading into the 1996 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton enjoys something most Democrats have only dreamed of in the past: the enthusiastic support of most of the country's major police organizations.

Law enforcement has been a bedrock Republican constituency for decades, and Democrats have always struggled to prove that they weren't soft on the subject. But in a dramatic turnaround in crime politics, the cop vote is now widely seen as Clinton's to lose.

"President Clinton has taken a courageous stand on tough issues," said Dewey Stokes, National President of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), at a June 29 Rose Garden cere-



President Clinton is flanked by some important law enforcement group leaders Dewey Stokes (left) and Robert Scully (right).

mony. "We in law enforcement appreciate courage, and that's what we've seen in the president," added Stokes, whose FOP is the nation's largest police

group, representing 270,000 rank-and-file officers.

Officials of the National

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Police Endorsements Pack Political Muscle

POLICE FROM PAGE 1

Association of Police Organizations (NAPO), second only to the FOP in size, add to the groundswell of praise for Clinton.

"I can only assume that if nothing changes between now and the election, my group would be hard-pressed to do anything other than endorse Clinton," says Robert Scully, NAPO's executive director, which represents 180,000 officers.

Clinton draws his strength on the crime issue from a long personal history of taking stances that diverge from typical Democratic positions—his vigorous support of capital punishment, for instance. But since taking office in 1993, Clinton has further solidified his support among law enforcement by carrying through on campaign promises to put more cops on the street and by standing strongly behind the waiting period for handgun purchases and the ban on assault weapons—initiatives cherished by many cops.

While Clinton has been winning friends in the police community, Republicans have been alienating many law enforcement leaders. Many GOP proposals, ranging from the bid to repeal the assault weapons ban to a plan to allow ex-felons to carry firearms, run counter to the cops' interests.

Perhaps no single moment better illustrates Clinton's visceral feel for the crime issue than his response to the April 19 Oklahoma City bombing. Clinton angrily denounced those who fanned the flames of hatred against the federal government—striking a chord with law enforcement and painting Republicans as allies of right-wing extremists.

Since Oklahoma City, there's been a perception that some elements in the Republican Party are flirting with the notion of law enforcement as the enemy," says William Barr, who was attorney general under President George Bush.

Barr—who supports the presidential campaign of the Republican front-runner, Sen. Robert Dole—believes the GOP can recapture control of the crime issue from Clinton. But based on what law enforcement officials are saying, that job won't be easy.

"The crime issue is Clinton's, and the Republicans are going to have to take it away from him," says a senior official in a major law-enforcement organization, who asks not to be named.

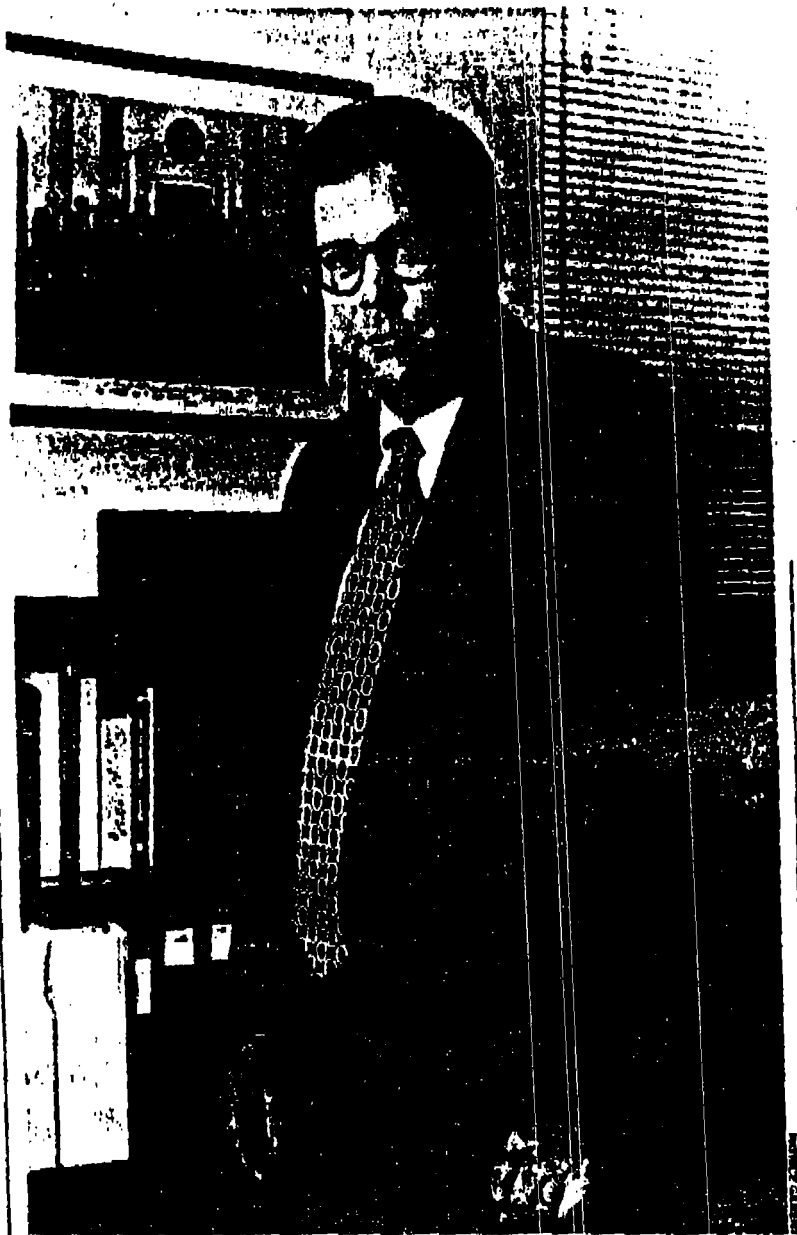
To be sure, the 1996 campaign is still in its infancy and many of the police groups, including the FOP, are not committing to a Clinton endorsement. "It's still too early," says James Caster Jr., the FOP's executive director. Some Democrats even suggest that the FOP may decide to sit the election out, rather than openly embrace Clinton.

RIVALS DEFEND GOP TERRITORY

Moreover, Republican presidential candidates are hardly treading the crime terrain to Clinton.

In a stump speech earlier this month, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Texas) signaled his plan to attack Clinton on the issue.

"There is no area where the gulf between President Clinton's views and mine are



greater than on the subject of crime," Gramm intoned during the July 1 address. "You see, on the subject of crime, Bill Clinton blames society and guns, and I blame criminals."

Clinton's other GOP rivals, including Senate Majority Leader Dole, have also derided Clinton as a root-causes liberal in the mold of his Democratic predecessors.

Dole insists he will garner police support for his presidential bid. "We have a good working relationship with just about every major police organization, and we look forward to working with them," says Dennis Shea, Dole's deputy chief of staff.

But representatives of police groups say that the crime debate has shifted far beyond the traditional liberal-conservative divide. In which tough law-and-order policies are pitted against a desire to attack the underlying social ills that cause outlaw behavior, Clinton has largely neutralized standard GOP

lines of attack by moving to the right on public safety issues.

And to the extent that Clinton supports programs aimed at preventing crime, he is joined by a growing number of law enforcement leaders around the country who—GOP jibes about midnight basketball notwithstanding—have concluded that the only effective way to fight crime is through a balanced approach that includes tough punishment and prevention.

Even some of the harshest critics of Democratic crime policies concede that Clinton has made incursions into what traditionally has been GOP territory.

*'In the
crime arena,
President
Clinton has
held his
own.'*

WILLIAM BARR
Former Attorney General

"In the crime arena, Clinton has held his own," says Barr, who, as Bush's attorney general, labored intensively to shore up GOP support among police groups.

Now, as the 1996 campaign heats up, candidates will be salivating over the opportunity to pose amid the customary sea of blue-uniformed police officers—staking claim to the law-and-order mantle.

But the value of police endorsements goes far beyond star-spangled photo ops. Police groups have political muscle that translates into votes. Since the early years of the Reagan administration, when the Republicans began pumping billions of dollars into law enforcement arsenals, the police groups have developed into formidable political organizations with powerful lobbying presences in Washington and grass-roots reach outside the Beltway.

And the symbolic value of police endorsements goes deeper than just projecting a candidate as a no-nonsense, lock-em-up crime fighter. Clinton aides say voters tend to identify candidates backed by cops with solid, middle-of-the-road American values—values that appeal to a core group of moderate to conservative voters that Clinton needs if he is to be re-elected.

"When the cops endorse you, you're being endorsed by somebody tough on law and order, but also by someone with blue-collar middle-class values," says Sen. Joseph Biden Jr. (D-Del.), the ranking minority member of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"If you're supported by the cops, you're viewed as the guy who is solid and you can't be the guy who's a homo-loving, draft-dodging, gay, or whatever the hell the right-wingers say," adds Biden, who, by

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FROM PAGE 17

to move the Democratic Party to on crime politics, has been able to win the trust of police groups.

Clinton's popularity among cops did not come without a lot of hard work.

During the 1992 campaign, Clinton already began courting the police groups by reaching out to them and tailoring his message to their interests. His pledge to put 100,000 more cops on America's crime-ravaged streets became one of his best-known campaign promises. For police leaders, who heard the constant calls from their constituents for new manpower and equipment, it was music to their ears.

Clinton the candidate also bowed in on the one area where the Republicans were vulnerable on the crime issue: their stance on gun control. He vowed to pass the Brady bill, which imposed a waiting

"We feel we've gotten our fair share," says Bud Meeks, executive director of the National Sheriffs Association, who notes that sheriffs' offices around the country have already received COPS funding to hire more than 1,300 new sheriffs' deputies.

"That's cash on the barrel head," adds Meeks, whose organization is one of the country's most conservative police groups. (The sheriffs' organization does not endorse presidential candidates.)

There are few times that the majority of rank-and-file police officers feel more passionate about than the need to curb the proliferation of guns on American streets. Virtually all of the groups lobbied aggressively for passage of the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. Victims in these battles cemented the relationship between the police groups and Clinton.

Finally, officials in the White House and the Clinton Justice Department have been almost obsessive about their outreach to law enforcement, managing agendas, drafting legislation together, and providing substantial access at the highest levels. Clinton himself has met with the Law Enforcement Steering Committee, a coalition of the country's top cop associations, three times since he has been in office. He and Attorney General Janet Reno have met privately with groups, as well.

"We have worked very closely with the current administration," says Michael Canning, the registered lobbyist for the National Troopers Coalition. Canning's group endorsed George Bush in 1992, but isn't predicting what it will do in 1996.

Last week, Clinton tapped former Ohio attorney general Lee Fisher to lead a presidential commission to explore crime problems—a move that,

given Fisher's reputation as a hard-nosed Democrat, may further prize the president's image.

UNDOING CLINTON'S WORK

Clinton's crime policy seemed to be humming along in the wake of the crime bill's passage. But the GOP takeover of Congress in 1994 threw into question the fate of Clinton's legislative achievements.

Emboldened by the GOP's November landslide, new House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his fellow Republican leaders on Capitol Hill pledged to undo the Clinton crime bill as part of their Contract With America. In no time, the House of Representatives targeted some of the cops' most cherished provisions.

The House has already voted to turn Clinton

into a hugely popular COPS initiative into a block-grant program, giving states discretion to allocate the money the way they see fit. The Senate is about to take up a similar proposal that targets money for police and prosecutors—a slightly better scenario in the cops' view. And Sen. Dole joined the fray by announcing that he would fight to repeal the assault weapons ban.

Then on April 19, a truck bomb ripped through the federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 169 people and crumpling the nation. The alleged bomber, Timothy McVeigh, is turned out, was a gun fanatic with ties to extremist militia groups.

Among the victims of the bomb's collateral damage were Republican crime enthusiasts.

The Oklahoma City bombing, Republicans concede, dramatically changed the political complexion of the crime debate. Links between militia groups and hard-line within the National Rifle Association have placed the gun lobby under a harsh spotlight. And NRA-backed Republican legislators are sweating under the reflected glare.

The main observers say, is that the party might be losing its traditional image as the friend of police. With a series of congressional hearings on the abuses of federal law enforcement scheduled to get under way this week, that image could erode further.

"Previously, the Republicans have been associated with strong law enforcement, and there are now mixed signals coming out of the Republican party that could hurt them," says Barr, senior vice president and general counsel at the GTE Corp. in Stamford, Conn.

Still, Barr says, if the Republicans stick to their traditional pro-police stances, pass a crime bill, and are "careful not to put themselves back in the position where they appear to be the puppets of the most extreme fringe elements, they can take back the lead on the crime issue."

But to be in a position where they have to "take back" the crime issue from the Democrats is a measure of how dramatically the tables have turned in the past few years.

And as the campaign heats up and the heavy courting of police groups begins, Clinton is clearly in a felicitous position. Last presidential campaign, the GOP endorsement decision went down to the wire, with a slim majority going for Bush.

This time, Democrats are already predicting that the GOP, the big catchalls in the police endorsement race, will either sit out or back Clinton.

Clinton's popularity among cops did not come without a lot of hard work. During the 1992 campaign, Clinton already began courting the police groups by reaching out to them and tailoring his message to their interests.

Still, Republicans say the president is far more vulnerable on crime than he might think. And cops agree that they are targeting opponents to be dropped.

"Drug prosecutions are down, and I think people are a lack of energy with regard to drugs," says Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee.

As for the race for cop endorsements, Hatch echoes the views of many Republicans that the leadership of law enforcement organizations tends to be better than the officers they represent. At the street level, Hatch maintains, Clinton is far less popular.

"The average policeman is still proud of some of the things that go on," Hatch says.

Even some Democratic critics caution that Clinton's role in the

one is predicting with absolute certainty that the White House will back up the police.

Always, looking as a negative for Clinton—perhaps even more so with law enforcement—are concerns about his

"It will depend on where the character issue is with Clinton after V. If White water blows up, then guys are not going to be on the side of someone who have to defend on ethical grounds."

Still, where the crime debate is concerned, many political observers say Clinton has successfully turned the character issue on its head.

"What you hear about the fear is that he does not stay committed to a says Stephen Brown, of counsel at Vorys, Sater, Seymour and Pease of Columbus, Ohio.

"But on Brady, assault weapons, and 100,000 cops, he drew a line in the sand and he never wavered," adds Brown, whose firm serves as counsel counsel to the GOP. "He kept his word, and to cops nothing matters more than loyalty."

Republicans say the president is far more vulnerable on crime than he might think.



Stephen Brown, a lawyer for the Fraternal Order of Police, says Clinton has shown his loyalty to cops.

period on the purchases of handguns to allow police to conduct a background check. And he told police he would fight for a ban on assault weapons.

With the passage of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, he delivered on those promises, police officials say.

It is difficult to overestimate the popularity of 100,000 more police—or the COPS (Community Oriented Police Services) program, as it is known. It represented one of the largest and quickest infusions of money and personnel for the nation's front-line fighters in years. And it was a direct transfer of resources to police from the federal government, rather than a program whose benefits got mired in red tape or shopped off at the state level.

Bringing In a Career Clinton-Basher

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

The new round of Whitewater hearings starting Tuesday isn't going to be boring if Sen. **Lauch Faircloth** (R-N.C.) has anything to do with it. Faircloth last week hired the indefatigable **David Bossie**, who's been wallowing in Whitewater longer than just about anybody, to help him out.

Bossie, who's going to be on staff for only a couple of months, is a top official with Citizens United, a conservative Republican group run by **Floyd Brown**, the famous producer of the Willie Horton commercial in **George Bush's** 1988 presidential campaign. Bossie was main researcher for Brown's book, "Slick Willie: Why America Cannot Trust Bill Clinton."

Bossie, who is said to have spent countless hours with Clinton accuser **David Hale**, the former Arkansas municipal judge and venture capital businessman, knows the subject matter and, better yet for the Republicans, knows how to work the press as well as anyone in town. The Clintonites are not exactly pleased.

Getting Personal in Switzerland

■ In the hard to keep good help category, seems our ambassador to Switzerland, **Larry Lawrence**, and his wife, **Shelia**, have lost their "special assistant," **Christina Marie Alexandre**. Worse, the State Department isn't going to give them another. In fact, the department's inspector general is looking into the situation.

Alexandre, in her resignation letter April 18, said she was hired, salary about \$50,000, to help Shelia Lawrence "in her post of representative to the World Conservation Union."

But when she arrived in Bern in March 1994, she wrote in her letter, she spent 90 percent of her time "involved in personal work" for the Lawrences, "including the in-depth arrangement of personal travel, personal appointments and personal business, et al." After Shelia Lawrence quit her job in November 1994, Alexandre said, she spent "99 percent" of her time "involved in personal work" for them.

"I can no longer ethically justify the payment of my own salary," she wrote, "given the above and . . . that my salary is paid by the taxpayers of the United States of America, since I feel that as a government employee, I am a de facto servant of the people, and it is therefore to them that I am ultimately responsible."

The Lawrences flatly deny the allegations, State Department officials say, and they say Alexandre was in the process of being fired when she left.

Lawrence, owner of the Del Coronado Hotel in San Diego, is highly regarded by senior officials at State, who say he has managed admirably in overseeing a difficult downsizing of the U.S. presence in Switzerland.

A State Department spokesman said Alexandre "misunderstood her job responsibilities" and that the job "turned out to be not what she wanted."

Another AID Capture

■ Now, from the Agency for International Development wars, "Captured Enemy Documents III." A new batch of internal e-mails, helpfully forwarded to

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman **Jesse Helms** (R-N.C.), indicates that an AID official wanted to get AID's "contractors, grantees and recipients" to fight Helms's proposed cuts in the agency's budget. One e-mail, released by the committee, says: "Please do not forward this message anywhere else. . . . This kind of message has the potential to be very damaging."

Floor Votes vs. Newborn Notes

■ It's the '90s, all right. Rep. **Fortney "Pete" Stark** (D-Calif.) explains his absence from the House floor last Monday night. According to the Congressional Record, Stark explained: "I missed four votes because of the need to be with my wife in childbirth classes. I hope everyone who has been through this process will be understanding of my absence."

Given the effectiveness of the minority Democrats in the House this year, the classes will surely prove more productive.

At CIA, Rustling Up an Audience

■ Some malcontents at the CIA were unhappy last week when senior officials there, using Director **John M. Deutch's** name, ordered staff members to go outside Friday to listen to **President Clinton** speak to the troops. Seems Deutch got concerned about the possible turnout in the hot sun for Clinton, especially after he saw a low voluntary turnout recently for a noontime bagpipe concert. After all, if they wouldn't go for bagpipes, why see Clinton?

Advice and Counsel

■ Clinton has named Prof. **Joyce C. Lashof**, a physician at the School of Public Health at University of California, Berkeley, to head the Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses. The executive director is **Robyn Y. Nishimi**, a PhD who has been senior associate at the congressional Office of Technology Assessment for nearly 10 years.

Longtime Environmental Protection Agency official **Bruce M. Diamond**, most recently head of the office of site remediation enforcement, is leaving to be a partner in the D.C. law firm of Swidler & Berlin.

It's Official . . .

■ Clinton said last week he would nominate **Michael P. Dombeck**, a career civil servant and former acting assistant secretary for land and minerals management, to be director of the Bureau of Land Management. Dombeck was named acting bureau director last year after Interior Secretary **Bruce Babbitt** fired **Jim Baca** as director.

Charles H. Twining, a career foreign service officer and now ambassador to Cambodia, is to be ambassador to Cameroon, where he served in the 1980s as consul general. Career foreign service officer **Stanley T. Escudero**, most recently ambassador to Tajikistan, is Clinton's pick to be ambassador to Uzbekistan.

Treasury Secretary **Robert E. Rubin** last week named **Joan Logue-Kinder**, who resigned as assistant secretary for public affairs, to be senior adviser. She's still looking at options in the private sector.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
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4A • FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1995 • USA TODAY

Congress' cuts bleeding cities, advocates say

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

As Congress pushes through its summer of spending cuts, mayors and urban advocates have tallied up the damage. Their conclusion: The budget is biased against the USA's cities.

That case is being made by the Clinton administration and city officials who fear the cumulative impact of cuts in Medicaid, welfare, housing, mass transit and other programs.

"The appropriations measures are doing extreme damage," says Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros, a former mayor of San Antonio and President Clinton's point man on urban policy. "I'm hopeful that someone will wake up before further damage is done."

But Republicans in Congress defend the fairness of the budget cuts, arguing cities have not been targeted.

"I think there's a tendency to underestimate the poverty in rural and suburban areas," says Rep. Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., who chairs a panel that oversees housing programs. "I think that the effort was roughly equitable."

One of the largest proposed cuts is in Cisneros' back yard: a bill on the House floor would cut HUD by 27%.

But it's the compounding effect of the cuts that upsets some urbanites.

► Taking money from the cities could lead to the loss of jobs and private investment.

► Costs for programs may be shifted to state and local governments, leading to tax increases.

► Hardest hit would be the poor; children and youths also would suffer from education and job training cuts.



HELMKE



RENDALL

"From every sign that we can see, this Congress has declared war on America's cities," says Rep. Thomas Foglietta, D-Pa., who heads Congress' Urban Caucus. "It's aimed at the class of people who live in the cities."

The battle cry against the budget cuts has been taken up by Republican as well as Democratic mayors.

Republican Mayor Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne, Ind., says cities "clearly" are taking a bigger hit than the rest of the country, though he denies it's part of an "anti-city mentality."

"The urban areas have basically taken care of those less fortunate in

our community for some time," Helmke says. "Those folks aren't going to go away."

Most of the mayors' ire has been directed at the congressional budget blueprint, which calls for cuts of \$182 billion in Medicaid over seven years and about \$100 billion in cuts to other entitlement programs.

They also have been on a warpath against House appropriations bills, which cut millions from housing, transportation, education, labor and economic development programs.

"In the best-case scenario, we're getting ravaged," says Philadelphia

Mayor Edward Rendell. "It's both geographic and demographic. Cities have huge portions of the nation's poor. They gravitate to cities because that's where the services are."

Frank Shafroth, a lobbyist for the National League of Cities, says the big hit on cities was a result of "design neglect... There was no evil intent."

But Seattle Mayor Norm Rice, a Democrat and president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, contends the GOP tilt toward the suburbs and away from the cities is intentional.

"The revenue shift is from those who are not deemed to be a part of

the Republican agenda," Rice says.

Conservative activists insist money won't solve urban ills and suggest big budget cuts could be just the medicine cities need to devise more innovative solutions to their problems.

"It will force change," says Robert Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. "As long as funds are flowing, people are not compelled to prioritize."

Most mayors still hope for a happy ending to the budget debate. Says Republican Greg LaSaulka of Columbus, Ohio: "We have plenty of time to have a soft landing, as opposed to a crash."



By Susan Weems, AP

CISNEROS: Public housing plan, unveiled in Dallas last July, may be in jeopardy.

A26 FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1995

The Washington Post

For the Record

From remarks by Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros at the White House Wednesday:

The president, a moment ago, addressed the assembled group of cities, led by their mayors, who have been selected as the first round-up empowerment zones. Those cities include New York, Los Angeles, Chicago. . . .

[The goal is] to link families to work, to reward work, and clearly . . . the Earned Income Tax Credit, the increasing of the minimum wage, the reform of welfare, leveraged private investment, the president's initiatives in the Community Development Banks, the Community Re-Investment Act, the empowerment zones, the one-stop centers of the Small Business Administration, the work of the Department of Commerce and Transportation—all of these fit in to that context of leverag-

ing private investment and bringing private investment back to the cities. [Another] dimension is a real respect for local policies, locally driven, locally based. . . . The work of many of the Cabinet departments to try to relate from the ground up . . . was demonstrated in the meetings that have occurred this morning.

The final piece of this national urban strategy statement is to focus on community standards and traditional values, individual values, welfare reform, the benefits in return for work in national service, the financial responsibility built into the Family Leave Act, the focus on anti-crime initiatives—including boot camp and drug courts, the Brady Bill, the assault weapons ban. All of these fit in to a context of safer places through focusing on individual values and community standards. . . .

The president today . . . invited the speaker to join him . . . on an empowerment agenda . . . that includes the kinds of things that I have just described.

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1995 • 9A

New-look urban policy expounded

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

The Clinton administration, decrying Republican budget cuts in Congress, Wednesday unveiled a new urban policy report that combines conservative dogma with a more liberal allocation of dollars.

President Clinton urged mayors to make their voices heard in the budget debate and challenged House Speaker Newt Gingrich to join him in an "empowerment agenda" for the nation's cities.

The urban policy is a compilation of administration initiatives, emphasizing work over welfare, private investment over public tax dollars, local rather than federal government control and individual values — rhetoric commonly associated with Republicans.

But the document was timed to take on the Republicans who have made urban programs a prime target of their budget-balancing proposals.

"The critical thing is to have it as a counterweight in this debate," said Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros.

The GOP can expect a one-two punch on urban policy during the next two months, as key budget decisions are made. The White House has a working group focusing on urban budget cuts, and mayors meeting in Texas last weekend vowed to become more active.

"We must demand that the burden of deficit reduction be spread fairly across the entire budget, not targeted at cities, children and the poor," said Seattle Mayor Norm Rice, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Clinton spoke to officials from communities his administration has designated as Empowerment Zones or Enhanced Enterprise Zones, areas eligible for federal grants and tax breaks to help them revive their economies: "The only way we can change... is if we realize we have to get beyond these big ideological debates and roll up our sleeves and reach out to each other and create opportunity for everybody."

Clinton told the officials, "You can turn America around by setting an example and proving this works."

He challenged Republicans to work with him to develop strategies for revitalizing the economy.

F O C U S

HOUSING

ROCHELLE L. STANFIELD

WHAT'S COOKING? A RECIPE FOR DISASTER?

Now that the urban horse has escaped from the barn, President Clinton talks about purchasing a small paddock for the door.

Clinton delivered a stirring defense of cities on July 26 at a conference on empowerment and released his Administration's 1995 urban policy report, which decries the deep cuts that Congress proposes for the fiscal 1996 Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Department appropriation.

The White House was noticeably silent on the subject, however, when Congress rescinded nearly a third of HUD's appropriation for fiscal 1995. Clinton vetoed the first version of the rescission package because of cuts in spending for education and training, even though the cuts in housing and urban development programs were much deeper. The second version—which Clinton agreed to—restored some education funds but left HUD pretty much out in the cold.

It takes neither a keen analytical mind nor access to insider political secrets to understand why this happened.

HUD presents an easy target for opponents; even its friends often find HUD hard to defend. Last winter, White House officials speculated about scrapping the department altogether, and the Office of Management and Budget toyed with the idea of eliminating funds for public housing.

A lot about HUD is an embarrassment for any Administration. For years, its staff was a caricature of everything bad about government bureaucracy. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insurance fund lost billions of dollars on multifamily housing. High-rise public housing complexes in many big cities have offered a disgraceful shelter for drugs, crime, vermin and despair. The General Accounting Office and the department's own inspector general have appeared at congressional hearings convened by sympathetic Democrats to denounce HUD's management practices.

HUD's constituents have a pretty weak voice. Tenants are poorly organized and have very little clout. Public housing authorities and owners and managers of privately owned subsidized housing are better organized but don't have much influence with the new Republican-controlled Congress. Mayors shout a little louder, but Capitol Hill lawmakers from suburban districts don't have to listen to them. Homebuilders, mortgage bankers and others who might get a hearing on Capitol Hill primarily are concerned with HUD's noncontroversial FHA single-family program for the middle class and have little vested interest in the department's beleaguered programs for the poor.

To make matters worse, HUD Secretary Henry G. Cisneros's personal problems over a former mistress have eroded much of whatever influence he had when he took the job. From the beginning, Cisneros was a rather lonely voice for the cities. Since last November, he's been reduced to a house whisperer.

"The combination of a crappy bureaucracy, programs that have some very visible problems, a Cabinet Secretary under siege and an inherently weak constituency is a recipe for disaster," acknowledged an urban lobbyist who asked not to be identified.



HUD Secretary Henry G. Cisneros

Nonetheless, as Cisneros and some Republicans in Congress stress—and as Clinton has belatedly recognized—gutting HUD is a shortsighted deficit reduction ploy that could come back to haunt the budget balancers in years to come.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, HUD and Independent Agencies voted to appropriate \$19.1 billion for HUD programs in fiscal 1996, 23 per cent less than 1995 spending. Not surprisingly, the cuts represent an inverse popularity contest. Public housing—the least favorite program of most politicians—would take the biggest hit, about \$3 billion of the

\$6.3 billion reduction. Other subsidized housing programs and aid for the homeless also would come in for major cuts. Meanwhile, the programs favored by mayors and governors—the \$1.6 billion community development block grant (CDBG) and the \$1.4 billion HOME investment partnerships housing block grant, would get the same amount that they got in 1995.

These cuts aim "a devastating blow at poor and hardworking low-income Americans," Cisneros said, describing the hodgepodge impact as "not a glide path" to deficit reduction but "a crash into the side of a cliff."

There's some political logic to saving CDBG and HOME at the expense of public and subsidized housing programs. Both are block grants adopted during Republican Administrations. And both are designed to invest in community and urban improvements rather than to simply help poor people pay their rent.

But slashing the housing subsidies could have insidious consequences to cities as a whole and their suburban rings.

The House subcommittee would require public housing authorities to make up for the budget cuts by substantially raising rents. Combined with welfare reform and cuts in other programs for the poor, rent increases would push the poorest tenants out onto the streets.

The positive view of that eventually envisions families with higher incomes taking over public and subsidized housing projects and improving them. A more realistic outcome would be the wholesale abandonment of these complexes, with the ensuing decay spreading to the rest of the city as the middle class flees an increasingly unpleasant atmosphere.

But suburbs—even residential communities with high walls and guardhouses—wouldn't escape. Several studies have shown that suburban economies generally are tied to the economic well-being of their central cities. In metropolitan areas, everyone is in the same economic boat.

"America cannot afford to abandon its cities," the Clinton Administration's new urban policy proclaims. "A fair future is a matter of grave national concern, not only because fairness demands that all citizens in a democratic society have the chance to succeed, but also because the vitality of urban regions is critical to our economic future."

Ringed sentiments, but somewhat hollow-sounding from a crowd that's pretty slow to put its money where it says its heart is.

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FROM: Michael Berman

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Up Front

EDITED BY LARRY KUNIT, WITH OLIVIA BROWN SHAM

EXECUTIVE SWEETS

A TICKET TO RIDE--IN STYLE

FOR LOTS OF TOP executives, commuting is a company-paid perk. Trips, usually chauffeur-driven, can be a hefty expense—especially for the living car room headquarters.

A couple of this year's proxies show how hefty. Jerry Sanders, Advanced Micro Devices chief, got a \$93,206



JERRY SANDERS
Chairman & CEO
Advanced Micro
Devices

\$93,206

Car and driver in 1994

benefit last year for the driver and Mercedes that shuttles him the 60 miles between his San Francisco home and

TALK SNOW "I believe it is wrong to slash Medicare and Medicaid to pay for tax cuts for people who are well off."

—President Bill Clinton, on the GOP plan to cut government health care for the poor and elderly

Silicon Valley. An AMD spokesman says Sanders can work en route.

The justification is similar for Merck Executive Vice-President Edward Scolnick (\$58,955 in commuting benefits), shuffled between the Philadelphia suburbs and the company labs in Rahway, N.J. Ditto for Chief Executive Officer Stanley Lowant (\$55,855), who goes from New York to Merck's headquarters in Whitehouse Station, N.J. Both use helicopters or cars.

Why did AMD and Merck bother to report the costs at all? Because the expenses exceed 25% of what the SEC calls "other annual compensation," which includes salary and bonus. The legal requirement for reporting. Alan Johnson, head of executive-pay consultant Johnson Associates, suspects many companies go over the 25% max yet simply don't comply with the rules. Indeed, a survey of big-company proxies by the Washington Document Service found no other mentions of commuting. At least this perk is taxable, Richard Brandt and Joseph Weber

THE FEDS

A GRUDGE MATCH WITH MICROSOFT

THE JUSTICE DEPT. BEING understandably sensitive after a judge slammed its July antitrust settlement with Microsoft as too lenient. So Justice now trying to scuttle Microsoft's \$2 billion acquisition of Intuit to show that

the feds aren't getting soft? Maybe so, if you look at the timing of how Justice handled the banks, who worry that their bids to launch online financial services would suffer as a result of the union.

Back in October, Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates proposed buying Intuit, whose Quicken program dominates the personal-finance software market. Yet Justice had questioned a few banks as it examined the deal that changed in mid-February, when U.S. District Judge Stanley Sporkin rejected the Justice-Microsoft pact. In after, Justice flooded the banking industry with sub-

poenas to get its views on the Intuit deal. On Apr. 27, antitrust chief Anne Simpson sued to block the deal.

Deputy Assistant Attorney General Steven Susskind says there's no connection between Sporkin's blast and the Intuit action. Antitrust lawyer Jeffrey Jacobovitz, who has filed complaints about the Justice-Microsoft settlement, contends that Justice "had no alternative but to challenge the merger because of the negative publicity Justice had gotten." Catherine Yang

WILD BLUE YONDER

THE SECOND BATTLE OF BRITAIN

UNITED AIRLINES HAS been grounded by archrival American Airlines' Machievellian tactics over valuable London landing rights. United wanted to fly directly from its Chicago O'Hare hub to London's Heathrow—and bag an extra \$200 million in yearly revenue.

United's Chicago passen-



UNITED: Unfriendly Heathrow skies

gers now must fly to other domestic airports with Heathrow routes. American has the same hassle from its Dallas hub. To get a direct Heathrow link for United, U.S. negotiators had agreed to give British Airways an added daily flight to Philadelphia.

Enter American. It persuaded Washington to get it in on the Heathrow deal. U.S. bargainers pushed American's plan to give it and other carriers Heathrow and, in exchange, let federal workers fly on BA. But the British rejected that, feeling the relatively small-volume federal-worker business was not a fair trade. So the talks fell apart. United says it won't quit trying for Heathrow. American Airlines officials say they counted more on scotching United's plans than getting their own new route. Christina Del Valle

THE FIRST BOARDROOM MANNA

DUPONT

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY WIREIMAGE.COM; PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY WIREIMAGE.COM; PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY WIREIMAGE.COM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/19

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Bill & Dan & Murphy Brown

Why, you might reasonably ask, were two politicians—President Clinton and former vice president Dan Quayle—lecturing the nation last week on the horrors of out-of-wedlock births? Isn't it the job of preachers and priests and rabbis and parents to say, as Clinton did, that "you shouldn't have a baby before you're ready and you shouldn't have a baby when you're not married"? Do we need a politician like Quayle to tell us that "it's important for fathers to be involved in raising their children"?

There are plenty of cynical explanations for why Clinton and Quayle did the "family values" number last week. Clinton, it is said, is desperate for some new issues and wants to sound like a "New Democrat" again by focusing like a laser beam on those tried-and-true values of community, opportunity and responsibility. The best speech of his term so far was his address to a group of black ministers in Memphis last year in which he also preached on these themes. What better way to get out of a deep hole than by trying Memphis II?

As for Quayle, he wants to be president and sees the religious right as a prime constituency, especially since former education secretary Bill Bennett—a favorite of religious conservatives—has decided not to run in 1996. The whole world knows that Quayle caused a huge ruckus in 1992 when he went after the Candice Bergen televi-

sion character Murphy Brown for having a baby out of wedlock. In the process, he endeared himself to many a conservative.

Quayle, who is by no means as dumb as so many say he is, knew perfectly well that Murphy Brown II would get lots of attention. So he gave his new version of the old speech and got a respectful hearing from Ted Koppel and Katie Couric.

These explanations are true as far as they go. But they don't get at just why it is that out-of-wedlock births have become a political issue. Where Clinton and Quayle agree, and where both are right, is on the proposition that many social problems—especially street crime and falling educational performance—are caused in significant part by the decline in the proportion of children born to families in which a father and mother are present and have made more than a passing commitment to each other. If you care about poverty, the well-being of children, social justice and equality, you have to care about the state of American families.

This ought not be a complicated proposition. The fact is that raising children is an immensely time-consuming endeavor. Single parents have a tougher time of it than married parents do in large part because one person has exactly half the potential time available that two people do. Psychologically, a

kid is obviously better off knowing that he or she is important enough that both a father and a mother are willing to be there. What happens to your sense of self-worth if your father simply disappears? Even children whose parents die prematurely have the security of knowing that the departed parent didn't just walk away.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, to his enduring credit, tried to make these basic points almost 30 years ago. He argued that the rise in the number of children being raised without fathers would have a devastating social impact. He was pilloried by many, mostly liberals, who said he was "blaming the victims" of poverty. In fact, he was trying to figure out what could be done to stop the spread of poverty and reduce its toll.

Now, most liberals are willing to accept Moynihan's point. Clinton's embrace of the cause of restoring the family—he did so long before he ran for president—is a sign that this is one issue where left and right, Republican and Democrat, might come together.

By speaking out for the family, liberals are underscoring the view that social problems cannot be solved by government action alone. That, in turn, leads to a redefinition of the government's role. In many instances, the government's job is not to establish

huge programs to deal with every aspect of a problem but to create conditions in which families and neighborhoods are in a stronger position to solve problems themselves. Family leave laws (opposed, by the way, by many conservatives) give parents a chance to do their jobs better. The national service program Clinton kicked off yesterday embodies a notion that conservatives talk about so much—the need to "empower" citizens and communities.

Dan Quayle takes some satisfaction in the altered debate, and it's true that much of what Quayle said in the Murphy Brown speech made sense. But before Quayle is canonized, it's worth recalling what the political point of the Murphy Brown speech really was.

Far from searching for a consensus on family issues, many Republicans need "family values" talk as a bittering ram to cast Democrats as the advocates of "slip" liberalism, presumably because they thought it was wrong to discriminate against gays and were somehow enmeshed in that horrid "counterculture" of the 1960s. Quayle couldn't resist another shot at the counterculture in last week's speech, arguing that "the elite in particular did not want to admit what was going wrong in America."

Well, okay: The folks who viciously

assailed Moynihan were, indeed, wrong, and some liberals—though fewer and fewer—have been reluctant to accept that private behavior, especially when it involves children, does have social consequences.

But the Republicans' values talk failed in 1992 because on these issues, most people don't like bashing or "culture wars" or the pretense that one political party has a monopoly on familial virtue. People could think that it's wrong to have kids out of wedlock and still feel for Murphy Brown, who brought a child into the world rather than have an abortion. Quayle insists that his point was not to attack single mothers, only to emphasize "the importance of fathers." But he got into trouble because many outside the "elite" didn't read his statement that way.

So let's have a truce. Credit both Quayle and Clinton for being right about the intact family. Acknowledge that neither Quayle nor Clinton nor anyone else has come up with a magic cure for family dissolution. Go to work to figure out those limited things government can do to strengthen the family. Admit that both economic circumstances and the moral climate affect the well-being of kids. And stop pretending that our political opponents are sinners, knaves or freaks. On these issues, we all see through a glass darkly.

— This is a wise article —
providing indication
of when we should go

Leon GS Baer Lander
Axi

The New Face of American Politics

By IRVING KRISTOL

A struggle for both the soul and body of American conservatism is taking place before our eyes, but because of the intervention of the liberal media our vision of it is cloudy and confused. The two poles of this struggle are best expressed by quotations from two conservative thinkers.

The first is from the interesting new book by David Frum, "Dead Right" (New Republic/Basic Books). Mr. Frum writes from the point of view of an economic conservative for whom Big Government is the central political problem of our era:

"Social conservatism is potentially more popular than economic conservatism. But . . . the force driving the social trends that offend conservatives . . . is the welfare function of modern government. Attempting to solve these social problems while government continues to exacerbate them is like coping with a sewer main explosion by bolting all the manhole covers to the pavement."

The second is from social conservative Paul Weyrich in a letter in the August issue of Commentary magazine. Posing the question, "Which comes first, a government that subsidizes immorality or a culture that tolerates it?" he answers it from the point of view of a social-cultural conservative:

"Single young women do not have babies in increasing numbers just because it pays. In fact, the welfare state notwithstanding, single motherhood is an almost certain road to lifelong poverty. [But] these young women . . . have absorbed a culture of instant gratification, and they have sex because they feel like it. . . . The welfare state encourages them, certainly, but it is not the driving factor. Cultural collapse is the driving factor."

Emphasis and Priorities

The polarization of these two views is less extreme than it seems from these two quotations. One can safely assume that Mr. Frum is unhappy that 30% of babies born in the U.S. today are born to single mothers. And one knows that Mr. Weyrich, a veteran conservative activist, is highly critical of our overblown welfare state, what Mr. Frum calls "Big Government." The issue is one of emphasis and priorities. But emphasis and priorities are closer to the heart of electoral politics than abstract political principles. That is why the Republican Party is now under such stress as economic conservatives and social conservatives strive for dominance in state after state, in primary after primary.

It is interesting to note that the Democratic Party seems not to be involved in any such conflict. The explanation is simple enough: The cultural left, over the past 20 years, has been so totally absorbed into the party that its priorities are fully respected. Some observers have been mystified by the fact that President Clinton's first initiative was to raise the controversial issue of gays in the military. Why didn't he insist on an increase in the minimum wage instead? That would have been more in accord with the party's traditional orientation.

But the Democratic Party of today is not the Democratic Party of yesteryear. Its trade-union base has not only shrunk,

as union membership in general has declined, but the nature of this membership has radically changed. Most of the union activists in the Democratic Party today come from the so-called helping professions—teachers, social workers, nutritionists, psychologists, etc.—most of whom work for the various levels of government itself.

Not only are these professions economically dependent on the welfare state, but they are completely dominated by the cultural left. (There is even a sense in which,

Board of Contributors

The real class war is between the cultural conservatives, mainly in the working and lower-middle classes, and the cultural left in the higher-paid and more economically secure professions. The GOP is being drawn in, willy-nilly.

along with professors and those in the arts world, it can be said they are now the cultural left.) It certainly wasn't the old-line unions of the AFL-CIO that defined the Democratic Party's position on abortion or on the distribution of condoms in high schools.

This does leave the Democratic Party with the problem of the traditional working class, union or nonunion, that has habitually voted Democratic, if less reliably so in recent years. The Clinton administration has been careful to offer the labor movement a bill that prohibited corporations from replacing striking workers. But it couldn't get enough Democratic votes to pass it—and, in truth, it didn't try all that hard. There are Republicans who see this Democratic problem as an opportunity—but these are almost entirely social conservatives, whose popular base is the working class, the lower-middle class, and the self-employed middle class. Economic conservatives speak to this dispossessed class in a language that does not appeal to human sensibilities.

There really is a class war, of a sort, in the U.S. today. President Clinton keeps trying to invoke older class-war slogans, when attacking the wealthy "vested interests." But he is having only minimal success. The reason is that the real class war in this country today is between the cultural conservatives, otherwise known as social conservatives, mainly in the working and lower-middle classes, and the cultural left in the higher-paid and more economically secure professions. And the Republican Party is being drawn into this class war, willy-nilly.

It is impossible to overestimate the dismay and confusion that this is causing within the Republican Party. All the potential candidates for the presidency in 1996 are self-consciously walking a very

fine line between the economic conservatives, whose traditional constituency is business, and the new, populist social conservatism that, as Mr. Frum admits, is potentially more popular. There is much angst within the party, much hedging and double-talk. Every one of these candidates knows that he cannot get the nomination, and even more certainly cannot win the election, without the support of the social conservatives. Why can't the Republicans do what the Democrats have done with their cultural left and simply, in a matter-of-fact way, embrace them?

The reason is religion. The social-cultural conservatives are also, in the main, religious conservatives, and this is something new in American politics. The Republican Party doesn't quite know what to do about it. The party is certainly not anti-religious, but it is secular, as our political parties have always been. In addition, there is the fact that the top executives of our larger corporations, who have a privileged position in the party, have views on social issues that are molded by economics, not religion or morality. Their idea of reforming welfare is to revise the system so as to make it more efficient and less costly. The notion of reforming the people on welfare is foreign to them.

Why this religious-political upsurge? Wouldn't it be better if both our parties remained secular? It probably would be, but that option has been foreclosed by the fact that the Democratic Party has itself ceased being secular and has become secularist. (Since the media themselves are secularist, the transformation has gone unnoticed.)

Secular vs. Secularist

A secular political party, in the traditional sense, has been neutral as between religions—at least insofar as they represent different versions of traditional morality. A secularist political party is neutral as between religion and irreligion; it believes that moral issues "have no place in politics," and replaces such issues with the idea of "fair and equal" treatment of all "lifestyles," all beliefs about what is permissible and what is not. This is accompanied by a powerful animus against the dominant traditional beliefs, especially religious beliefs. The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Education Association faithfully represent this ideology, which explains why they are comfortable banning the Ten Commandments from the classroom but don't mind feminist or homosexual art.

So, in addition to differences in economic policy and social policy, there is emerging a profound religious difference between the two parties—a difference that, in turn, shapes modes of thinking about economic and social issues. The Republican Party, always slow to change, is reluctant to recognize this new reality, and many in the party are resisting it. But such resistance will surely crumble in the years ahead, and the party alignments will be novel and different in important respects. A new era in American politics has already begun.

Mr. Kristol, an American Enterprise Institute fellow, co-edits *The Public Interest* and publishes *The National Interest*.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

The two suspects saw Eric and Derrick on the street that evening and took them to a rowhouse, where they slapped Eric around and held Derrick, CHA officials said.

The brothers ran out of the rowhouse, but when they exited an elevator at the 13th floor in the Wells developments, the two suspects were waiting for them, sources said.

That is when Eric and his brother were lured to the site of the final struggle, authorities said.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

Less than two hours after police were notified, they talked to Derrick and shortly after arrested the 11-year-old and the 10-year-old on a crowded street corner, said Wentworth Area Detective Jerome Doroba.

"Someone pointed them out," he said.

After giving oral and written statements to police, the boys were held overnight at the Juvenile Detention Center, where Associate Judge Charles May on Friday ordered that they remain until at least Monday, when a trial date will be set.

If the boys are convicted of the first-degree murder charges in the delinquency petition filed against them, they could be sent to a locked residential facility outside Illinois until about their 19th birthdays.

Illinois has no such facilities, but because of a recent rash of murders committed by juveniles, authorities are considering building some here. In addition, authorities are considering lowering the age when a juvenile can be charged as an adult with murder to 10 from 13.

The fathers of both suspects are in prison. The younger boy allegedly involved in Eric's killing recently had several brushes with Juvenile Court authorities. In an unlawful-use-of-weapons conviction this month, he was placed on one year's probation and sentenced to 90 days' home confinement.

Police were notified about 8 p.m. Thursday that a child had fallen out of a window of the Wells public housing building, and when they arrived, found the child on the ground.

Eric's body was "twisted he looked like every bone in his body was broken," said Brenda Abrams, 42, who was visiting her stepfather there when Eric fell.

Both suspects, who were named on juvenile petitions with first-degree murder, made admissions in statements to police, officials said.

"They admitted their part in the crime," said Police Cmdr. Charles Smith, of the Wentworth Area violent crimes unit. "As far as showing remorse, they were stunned. I can't say how much remorse they showed."

Smith described Eric's brother as "horrified. He's scared. He's terrified, just like any 8-year-old would be," terrified "of watching his brother dangle from the 14th floor and fall to his death."

Smith said there was no apparent gang connection in the incident.

Some residents of the Wells housing development where the killing occurred blamed the CHA for failing to secure the building adequately. Throughout Friday afternoon, work crews boarded up doors and windows of vacant apartments in the building.

"Something this horrible has to happen before they come out here and do anything about it," said Dee, a neighbor of the Morris family who would not give her last name.

But CHA officials said work crews had reboarded the unit from which Eric fell just hours before the struggle. The unit was reboarded three times in April, as well, said CHA spokesman Steve Canty.

After the work crews left Thursday, someone broke through the wood bolted over the door. It was unclear

Friday whether that was done by the boys or someone else.

"I don't know if the boards on the door were already off or whether they ripped them off," said Kelly McGrath, a CHA spokeswoman. "It doesn't matter. When someone is determined to get the boards off, they'll get them off."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

CHA crews constantly battle to keep up with vacant units that are broken into, often by gangs who use them to hide guns and drugs.

The site of Eric's death carried at least one sad irony: The building is home to the CHA's victim-assistance program, so members of the authority's newly formed crisis-response team were on the scene immediately.

"A lot of people saw it. A lot of people came out," said Taya Sun, director of CHA's preventive programs, whose office is there.

Sun spent much of Friday talking with members of Eric's large extended family "countless cousins," she said who are spread throughout the CHA.

"This was a 5-year-old child who was the darling of everyone," she said.

"Like any family in America," Sun said, "they are grieving about a 5-year-old child who was senselessly taken."

X X X

Tribune reporters John W. Fountain, Peter Baniak, Nancy Ryan and V. Dion Haynes contributed to this article.

X X X

Toys 'R' Us announces it no longer will stock toy guns

By John N. Maclean and Louis Carlozo
Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO The voice of a Vernon Hills, Ill., police dispatcher, responding to frightened calls from residents, went out over police radios Thursday afternoon: "Two juveniles possibly pointing a gun."

Squads raced to the address given on Monterrey Drive in the Deerpath development looking for a black sedan described by residents.

They found the car, pulled it over and drew their guns, ordering the 17-year-old driver to come out with his hands in the air.

For the police, everything about the situation was chilling and real. But as it turned out, the youth's gun was fake a plastic look-alike version of a 9 mm pistol.

"Some of these guns are dead ringers for real guns," Vernon Hills police Cmdr. Jerry Storer said. "And if you've ever looked down the barrel of a gun, it's scary."

Two weeks ago a similar incident ended differently when police shot and killed a 13-year-old boy in New York City who was carrying a toy gun. Hours later in that city, a 16-year-old was chased and shot by a police officer who thought the toy gun in the youth's belt was real. The second youth was wounded in the abdomen.

On Friday, toy retailers took another step to limit sales, but it didn't make the controversy go away.

Retailing giant Toys "R" Us Inc. announced it no longer will stock toy guns that can be altered to look like the real thing, though it will sell what it has on hand. Overseas sales will continue.

Michael Goldstein, chief executive of the company, said in an interview he will "err on the side of caution" in choosing which guns to eliminate in the U.S. market and expects to have only a few outsized water guns left for sale after mid-February.

At the Toys "R" Us store in Melrose Park, Ill., a store employee said that toy guns already were being pulled off the shelves. But at the Bloomingdale, Ill.,

(I think I should do a letter to the CEO congratulating him - should include him)

1/18/94

branch, store managers still were waiting to get exact details of the pullout plan from corporate headquarters in Paramus, N.J.

Other retailers already have taken similar steps, though Toys "R" Us, as the world's largest toy seller, is the industry leader. Kay-Bee Toy Stores, based in Pittsfield, Mass., announced Friday that it would immediately begin removing and destroying all realistic toy guns on its shelves.

At the Kay-Bee Toys store in Lincolnwood, Ill., assistant store manager Sharon Levin said toy guns were being removed gradually from the store aisles. Levin said her store only sells a handful of toy guns a week, and that she recently has had to handle some parents bringing them back for refunds.

Bradlee's Inc., a discount department-store chain based in Braintree, Mass., has said it won't order toy guns for the Christmas shopping season.

Kmart Corp., of Troy, Mich., stopped selling realistic toy guns about 10 months ago, spokesman Stephen Pagnani said Friday. The company will continue selling guns that obviously are toys, like brightly colored Nerf and Super Soaker water guns, he said.

In Chicago, an executive of the nation's largest maker of toy guns said the crisis is overblown and the company expects to go on making plenty of brightly colored toy guns or water guns. Myron B. Shure, chairman of 125-year-old Strombecker Corp. on the West Side, said playing with the toys is a healthy outlet for hostilities.

Shure said incidents like the shooting described above happen because of problem children, not problem guns.

"I think you probably had a disturbed kid of some kind," Shure said. "I can't imagine a 16-year-old playing with a gun. Our products are intended for young children." He added nothing will stop little boys from pointing their fingers at each other.

Shure said realistic-looking rifles and pistols account for only an "infinitesimal" part of Strombecker's business, and a cutoff would have little effect on the company, which makes a wide variety of products.

Strombecker, with about 250 workers in Chicago and more than 400 worldwide, has about 60 percent of the toy-gun market in the U.S.

Goldstein, of Toys "R" Us, said the company will work with its suppliers to try to come up with safer, alternative products.

"We want to be fair with our suppliers," Goldstein said. "We're asking them to be imaginative and come up with ideas for substitutes. For instance, if they have a police set with a gun, substitute a baton for the gun."

There has been a previous effort to limit look-alike toy guns. Since 1990, a federal law has required that look-alikes have their barrel tips painted bright orange or have corked barrels.

But Goldstein acknowledged that anyone who wants to can spray paint over the orange or pull the cork, which is hardly visible anyway. And police and concerned groups have complained that color differences can't be seen at night.

"When you get that call of a man with a gun, your heart beats faster and you sweat a little," said James Davis, a New York City policeman who worked with Toys "R" Us on this issue. "You don't have the opportunity to say, 'Is this live or is it Memorex?'"

Stevanne Auerbach, director of the non-profit Institute for Childhood Resources in San Francisco, said the action by Toys "R" Us is "definitely a beginning," but is long overdue and should have gone further.

"Letting toy guns stay in the stores is bad business," said Auerbach, who is known as "Dr. Toy." "If you know something is bad for children and you go on selling it, you're doing the children a disservice."

"But part of the problem is parents don't know how to say no to their children."

Parents, law enforcement officials and gun-control advocates praised the retailers' moves.

"Because so many kids are carrying real guns, for kids to carry realistic-looking toy guns is incredibly dangerous and incredibly stupid," said Cheryl Brolin, spokeswoman for Handgun Control Inc.

Haitians prepare for Aristide's return, some fear assassination attempts

By E.A. Torriero

Fort Lauderdale Sun Sentinel

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti Red roses and blue candles mark shrines to assassinated supporters of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Nearby, heavily armed U.S. soldiers are perched on tanks and atop the Presidential Palace to make sure he does not meet the same fate.

After 1,111 days in exile, Aristide comes home Saturday.

He returns to the graves of hundreds of his murdered supporters. To a land where five attempts were made on his life. To 20,000 U.S. soldiers assembled to return him to power. To a bevy of U.S. Secret Service agents and Haitian bodyguards for his protection.

As he steps behind bulletproof glass to address his country this afternoon, friends say Aristide will have more to worry about than how to save his profoundly troubled land. He will have to wonder how he will remain alive.

"President Aristide knows the field very well, and he knows it is mined," said Fignole Jean Luis, a deputy in the Aristide-era parliament. Luis recently came out of hiding. "I don't think there could ever be enough security to protect him."

Haiti's history of violence lurks in the background of what is likely to be a cathartic release of emotion Saturday.

Tens of thousands are expected to clog Port-au-Prince's streets in a mass celebration of Aristide's return and the end to three years of repressive military rule.

Some are worried, however, that celebration may turn to retribution. In the wealthy suburb of Petionville, Haiti, businesses plan to close and the wealthy elite many of them backers of the military coup plan to spend the day behind locked gates. Some have already fled to the neighboring Dominican Republic for the weekend.

"The people think they have a license to kill," said a Catholic nun who lives in Port-au-Prince. This week, she saw Aristide backers chase and stone a military man in her yard.

"When the Americans came, the police left and the people have run wild. I am afraid they will turn on anyone even us."

That atmosphere has the U.S. occupation troops wary. They are doing everything in their power to keep Aristide from harm. For nearly a month, U.S. forces have been eradicating Haiti's brutal military, seizing thousands of weapons, taking over barracks and outposts, and persuading top generals to resign and leave.

They rendered impotent Haiti's dreaded paramilitary squads. The U.S. State Department hired a security firm of former Secret Service agents to train Aristide's personal bodyguards.

On Friday, dozens of U.S. tanks took up positions on the streets. Bomb detectors swept through the Presidential Palace and sharpshooters were placed on the roof.

When Aristide arrives shortly before noon, he will be

AMU 15 cc

Curb Cuban immigration? Yes, most in survey agree

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA/immig.

By JOHN LANTIGUA and STEPHEN K. DOIG
Herald Staff Writers

Nearly half of Cuban Americans in Dade agree with other county residents that immigration from Cuba should be sharply limited, according to a new Herald poll.

In a weekend survey of 485 county residents, pollsters found significant disagreement within the Cuban-American commu-

■ QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES, 8A

nity about Cuban immigration and how the U.S. government should handle it. While most of them favor blanket admission of Cubans into this country as legal residents, a sizable number of Cuban Americans feel differently.

At least a third of Cuban Americans sur-

veyed also agreed that:

- The U.S. government was not wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters back to Cuba.
- Cubans who arrive in the United States without visas should be considered illegal immigrants.
- Cubans should be treated the same as

PLEASE SEE POLL. 8A

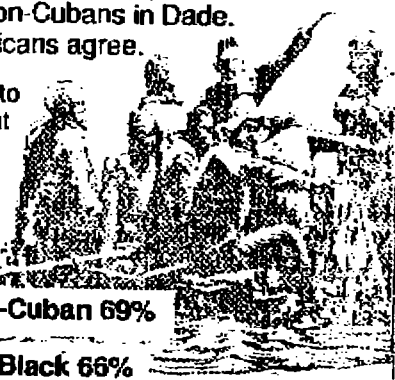
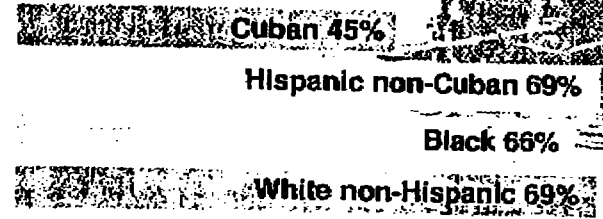
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TIME FOR LIMITS?

Future Cuban immigration should be sharply limited, according to a solid majority of non-Cubans in Dade. Nearly half of Dade Cuban-Americans agree.

The statement: "The U.S. was right to admit Cuban refugees in the past, but the time has come to sharply limit Cuban immigration."

Those in agreement:



Haitian or other immigrants, not afforded a special status that grants them automatic legal residency.

■ Cubans now fleeing the island are economic refugees looking for a better life, not political refugees fleeing repression.

■ Dade County schools are overcrowded because of immigration.

"The Cuban community has never been monolithic," said Damian Fernandez, a professor of International Studies at Florida International University. "In the population in general, there is a feeling we have to close the door and Cubans are not immune to those feelings."

"Cubans here now have their feet in two camps," he said. "In part they see themselves as political refugees and in part they are members of a minority trying to make it in this country. The immigration issue affects them in that sense as well."

Most Cuban Americans surveyed still believe they have a moral duty to oppose the repatriation of Cuban rafters and feel strongly that anyone returned to Cuba will face persecution by President Fidel Castro's government.

They feel betrayed by President Clinton and, more often than not, say last week's traffic tie-ups and other acts of disruptive civil disobedience were effective in gaining sympathy for the Cuban exile cause.

That puts them tremendously at odds with their neighbors — blacks, Anglos and non-Cuban Hispanics.

"I think it is clear that [the majority of] Cubans have isolated themselves politically from the rest of the population," said Miguel Gonzalez Pando, director of the Cuban Living History Project at Florida International University.

"For years, they didn't make the effort to make contact with these other groups, to explain their issues, and now it is showing."

An attempt by protest leaders to compare their cause with the civil rights movement of the 1960s didn't register with blacks polled. Two-thirds said they didn't consider Cuban immigration a civil rights issue.

"If the Cubans had shown more support for the Haitian boat people, maybe they could count on support now," said Gonzalez Pando. "Now the shoe is on the other foot."

The non-Cuban groups polled also strongly oppose disruptive acts of civil disobedience used recently by Cubans to protest President Clinton's new policy of repatriating Cuban rafters. More than half of the non-Cubans polled said those demonstrators should be immediately arrested.

"I think it is clear that the demonstrations have not been effective in terms of changing the perception of the population as to the plight of the Cuban people," said Antonio Jorge, professor of economics and international relations at FIU. "These people don't have the same political experience Cuban people do, an experience of totalitarianism, and the Cuban community has not done the job of communicating that."

Almost one third of Cuban Americans polled also felt that protesters who block public thoroughfares should be arrested and said the protests have been ineffective.

"Many Cubans are saying, 'The culprit is not my neighbor,'" Fernandez said. "It is Washington that is the culprit. I think if the disturbances go on another week, most Cubans will be against them."

There were several areas in which all the groups agreed.

They concurred that Cuban and Haitian refugees should be treated the same, that the eco-

nomie embargo against Cuba should not be lifted, and that immigrants, in general, end up paying their fair share of taxes.

They also agreed that Cuban protesters were treated better than blacks who have rallied on behalf of Haitians.

On several issues, the Cuban Americans found support from other Hispanics. Nearly half of other Hispanics felt the United States was wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters and that Cuban immigration is a civil rights issue. They agreed that the Cuban government will persecute rafters returning to Cuba.

11 more rafters picked up; all are facing possible return

CUBANS, FROM 1A

and third groups to be picked up by the Coast Guard since President Clinton's decision last week to change immigration policy and deliberately return Cubans to their homeland for the first time since Fidel Castro seized power in 1959. The first group of 13 Cuban rafters was repatriated Tuesday, when a Coast Guard boat docked at the port of Cabañas, about 38 miles east of Havana.

In Washington, government officials Thursday downplayed reports that the Cuban government might be harassing that

Exile leaders plan a 'work stoppage' day for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

first group of repatriated Cubans, who on Wednesday traveled from Cabañas to their home province of Camaguey.

Members of the repatriated group have said they've been

shadowed by Cuban authorities since their return to Camaguey. One of the rafters said he was followed by a car with men whom he recognized as plainclothes State Security agents. Another man reported that police were monitoring his mother's home.

Doubts raised

However, a State Department cable from two U.S. officials who interviewed most of the repatriated rafters raised doubts about allegations that they were mistreated.

According to the cable, the officials met with eight of the 13 returnees between 4:30 and 8 p.m. Wednesday.

"In the initial meetings, the returnees noted that they were well treated by authorities," the cable said. "However, all were obviously unhappy about the fact of being back in Cuba."

"At one point during the day, U.S. Interest Section officers were told Cuban police were at the home of two returnees, Cesar and Ulises Cabale. When the officers arrived, they found no sign of the police. The Cabales complained, however, that earlier in the day, a police motorcycle and sidecar had visited the house opposite, which is the location of the CDR [Revolutionary Defense Committee] representative for the neighborhood. The Cabale brothers did not tell us of any other alleged harassment."

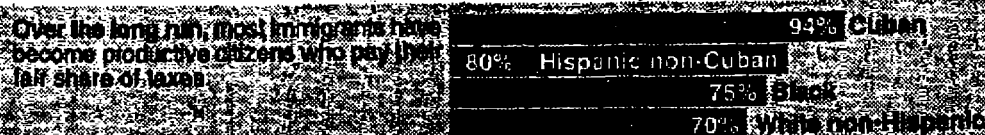
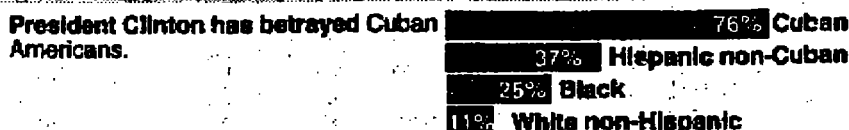
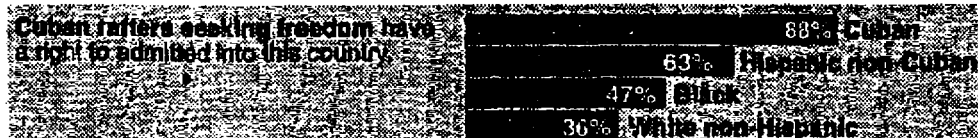
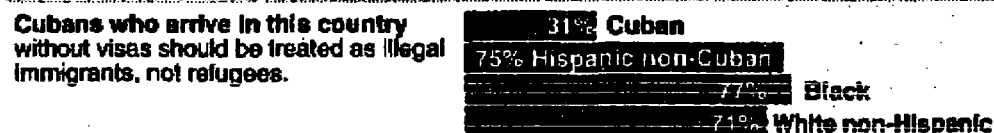
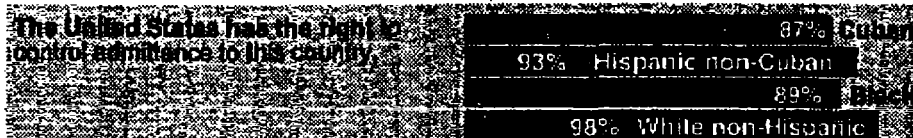
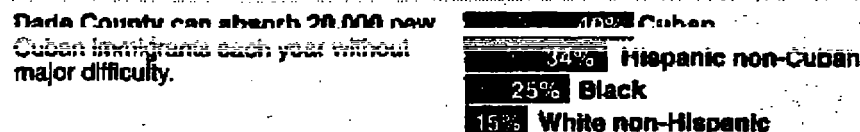
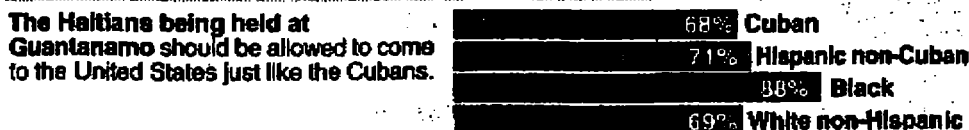
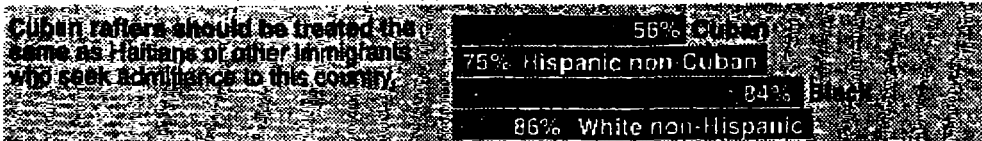
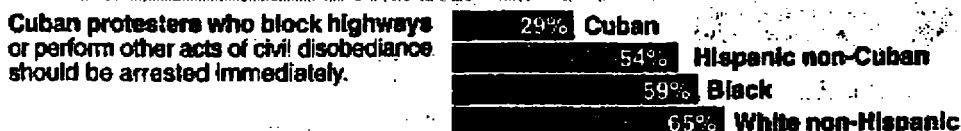
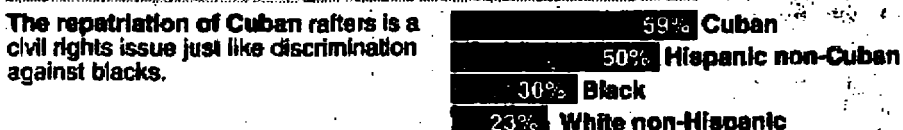
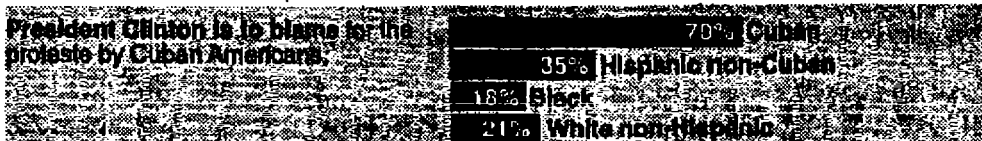
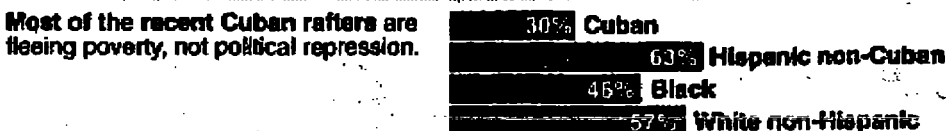
In a phone interview from Havana, a spokesman for the U.S. Interests Section said the Cubans were upset to learn that the repatriation process would not give them any advantage or shortcut in seeking a visa to travel legally to the United States.

RIPPING CLINTON:
Gladys Lavastida tears up a picture of President Clinton during a demonstration at Coral Way and 27th Avenue against the new policy to repatriate Cuban refugees.



MURI YALLBONA
Harold Staff

This Herald telephone survey asked 485 Dade County adults whether they agree, agree strongly, disagree or disagree strongly with the following 24 statements. The figures here show what percentage of respondents from each of Dade's major ethnic groups said they agree or agree strongly with the statement.



HOW THIS POLL WAS DONE

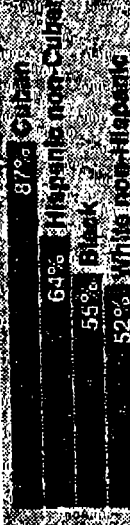
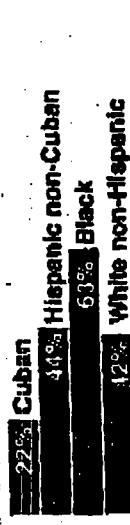
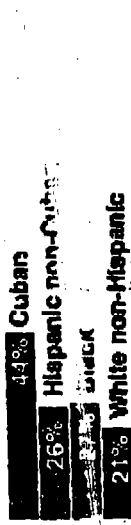
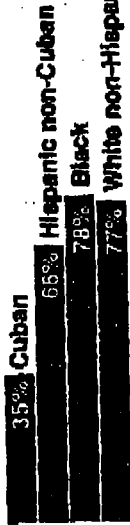
This poll, conducted for The Herald by the Prange & O'Hearn Marketing and Research Group of Miami, is based on telephone interviews completed Saturday and Sunday, May 13-14, with 485 adult Dade County residents. Respondents' telephone numbers were selected randomly using a technique called random-digit dialing. The interviews were done in English or Spanish, depending on each respondent's preference.

Because the poll was designed to examine differences in opinion among Dade's major ethnic groups, the overall sample doesn't reflect Dade demographics, but rather target samples for each group. Interviewers talked with 92 non-Hispanic

white respondents, for a sampling error margin of plus or minus 10.2 percentage points; 44 non-Hispanic black respondents (plus or minus 14.1 points); 100 non-Cuban Hispanics (plus or minus 9.8 points); and 249 Cubans (plus or minus 6.2 points).

The sampling error margin means, for instance, that if all Dade County Cubans could be asked a particular question, there is a 95 percent chance that the actual results would be within 6.2 points of the answers given on this survey. Other sources of error, such as in the wording of questions, are possible, but cannot be quantified.

—STEPHEN K. DOIG



Haitians at Navy base ask: Why are we here?

M.H. 5-15-95 HAITI

RACHEL L. SWARNS
Ald. Staff Writer

U.S. NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba — As the ragged boat neared apart midway through its journey to America, a 17-year-old disabled girl found courage in the memory of her father's face. She lived across the ocean, far from her father's grave and her home in Haiti, in a place with big hospitals and doctors who could make her walk straight.

■ IN SEARCH OF DAD, 8A
■ DISABLED GIRL IS TAUNTED, 8A

When she saw the U.S. Coast Guard cutter steaming toward the leaky boat, she rejoiced. "I knew they were taking me to my father in Miami."

Eleven months later, she hides in a green army tent in the detention camp for unaccompanied Haitian rafter children here. She never made it to Miami. She never got

the operation she needed. The other children taunt her until she limps to her tent in tears.

"Eleven months of sadness," says Marie-Carol Celestin, whose father had begged military officials to release her to his care. "Why am I still here?"

As jubilant Cuban rafters abandon the sweltering camps here for new homes in

PLEASE SEE HAITIANS,

HAITIANS, FROM 1A

United States, Celestin's question reverberates among the 229 Haitian children held in Camp 9. Her story illustrates the frustrations of the minors, who risked their lives trying to reach the United States, only to be detained here for nearly a year with little hope of attaining their dream.

The U.S. argument

The U.S. government says the children must return to Haiti, where democracy has been restored. About 60 have already gone home. Rumors swirling among refugee resettlement agencies hint at an imminent policy change and the possibility that the children may be paroled into the United States. But so far, nothing concrete has materialized. And tension in the camp is rising.

Last week, dozens of children pelted soldiers with rocks and oranges and set tents on fire, protesting the new U.S. policy that admits only Cuban rafters here into the United States.

The disturbances captured the national spotlight. But until then, the children were virtually invisible, held incommunicado from reporters and photographers by military officials for months. In their first interviews with *The Herald* last week, they described their risky voyages from Haiti, their daily frustrations and their fears of going home.

They fled Haiti during the summer of 1994, when military dictators ruled the country and ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide lived in exile. Some parents, fearing persecution, put their sons and daughters on rickety boats. Other children fled when their relatives were killed. Others hoped to escape poverty. When the boats lurched to sea, they jumped on board.

But instead of reaching the United States, they ended up in Guantanamo, a desolate camp filled with rows and rows of green burlap tents, surrounded by metal fences topped with barbed wire. And as the months pass and blistering day melts



MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

FACE OF FRUSTRATION: A young Haitian girl spends her days in Camp McCalla #9, a camp for unaccompanied minors.

into blistering day, the frustration rises.

One girl cries for days after her best friend is sent back to Haiti. Another boy takes three showers daily, trying to take the edge off the burning heat. And thunder clouds send the chil-

dren scurrying for plastic bags that never quite manage to keep the rain from soaking their cots and clothes.

For entertainment, the children sing in Creole, braid hair, or play marbles in the dust, with balls popped out of roll-on deo-

dorant bottles. On bad days, they fight. They set fires. Or they refuse to go to school.

Last year, the United States admitted all unaccompanied Cuban rafter children. Two weeks ago, the U.S. government announced that nearly all the remaining 21,000 Cuban rafters would be admitted.

Growing bitter

As the Cubans rejoiced, the Haitians grew bitter. Why, they wondered, didn't they receive a blanket welcome to the United States?

"It hurts us very much," said a 17-year-old girl, whose father lives in the United States. She could not be identified without her parents' permission. "The Cubans found us here. But the Cubans are leaving and we're still here."

The U.S. government says the decision is consistent with long-practiced U.S. refugee policy: Haitians can return to a democracy, while Cubans cannot.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which handles the resettlement

of the Haitian children, says only children without parents or principle caretakers in Haiti, and children facing the threat of political violence in Haiti end up in the United States. Twenty-three children have been paroled so far.

"It's not a simple matter that life is better for kids in the United States," said Michael Troje, the U.N. refugee expert who is tracing relatives in Haiti. "Their emotional health is better in their own country."

But that argument carries little weight with the children. Last week, after the United States announced the Cubans would be leaving, they refused to attend school. They started a hunger strike. And on huge white sheets, hung from the fences, they voiced their outrage in blue magic marker.

To them, the reason for the disparity in treatment was painfully clear.

"Because we are black," the sign read. "We have not the same blood."

"In front of God, everybody is the same thing."

Reboredo's D.C. trip was paid by taxpayers; 'I am not ashamed'



Reboredo

M.H.S-13-95 Comm. Reboredo
By **DEXTER FILKINS**
Herald Staff Writer

Metro Commissioner Pedro Reboredo's highly publicized arrest at the White House steps earlier this week has a footnote: Taxpayers paid for the trip.

Reboredo billed his \$486 round-trip flight to Washington to Metro government. He plans to submit the rest of his expenses — about \$250 on hotel, dinner and taxis.

Reboredo and U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart were arrested outside the White House Tuesday when they protested Clinton's Cuba policy.

Reboredo said he happened to be in Washington on county business when he learned of Diaz-Balart's plans.

"May I go with you?" Reboredo asked.

The two were arrested in the afternoon and released in the afternoon. Reboredo flew home that night, met reporters at the airport and called a press conference the next day.

Reboredo said the arrest prevented him from accomplishing much of his official business. He said he went to Washington to lobby for more immigration staffing at Miami International Airport.

He didn't have any appointments with INS or other officials, he said.

Reboredo said he doesn't have any regrets about his action.

"If I put in 60 hours a week [as a commissioner], and while doing it I get involved in a personal thing, so be it. I am not ashamed."

Try *this* for a lose-lose

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

If you held a contest for bad ideas, you couldn't top the planned work stoppage across Greater Miami tomorrow to protest the change in U.S. policy toward Cuban immigrants. The organizers' avowed aim is to "shut down Miami," as if this were some Third World backwater.

This effort is wrong by every measure of wrong. It targets the wrong people in the wrong place by the wrong method. It will bring its sponsors not community sympathy but more community division. Unless there is trouble, which would be tragic, this work stoppage will be barely noticed, and less noted, by those to whom it should be addressed: the policymakers in Washington, D.C.

Oh, not to worry, it'll surely be noticed by that fiendish policymaker in Havana: Fidel Castro. He may tip over his La-Z-Despot lounge chair in paroxysms of laughter at how the people whom he has hurt so much hurt only themselves and their community in a misguided tactic aimed in part at him.

Yes, Castro couldn't be happier. This effort to "shut down Miami" costs him zero, hurts him not at all. Fact is, it may benefit him further by (as it has) increasing Miamians' internal frustrations. While Castro busts a gut laughing, what's the effect on us here? For starters:

■ Businesses (especially in Cuban Miami) will forgo all or part of a day's

WORK-STOP PROTEST

Castro himself couldn't have devised a scheme more harmful — *to us only* — than tomorrow's Miami work stoppage.

income. For mom-and-pop operations, that's a severe price for a mere feckless gesture.

■ Employees will forfeit untold pay or vacation time if they feel compelled to show solidarity by not working. We respect deeply those who, for reasons

of conscience, will sacrifice. What a pity though, that their sacrifice won't have a beneficial impact in Washington or Havana! The only impact — *adverse* — will be here, on them, on all of us.

■ We stand the real chance of making this city of the future, this city that seeks to be this hemisphere's 21st Century capital, simply look foolish in Washington (where the real policy power is) and, indeed, to much of South Florida.

■ Public sentiment was 63 percent more negative vs. only 17 percent more positive toward the Cuban community's cause after protesters last week created major traffic jams by blocking arterial roads. If the goal is to drive that disfavor further toward 100 percent, this work stoppage is an ideal 16-wheeler.

This protest is a lose-lose. It won't help the rafters. It won't help their sympathizers. It won't help the Cuban community's sympathy among Greater Miami's other communities.

Whom might it help, then? By our measure, only one person: the in-Fidel in Havana. The ever-wily Castro couldn't have wished for a better outcome had he planned it himself.

Opposition yes . . . protests no

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

Many Cuban Americans in New Jersey question Miami methods

By MICHAEL WARREN
Special to The Herald

UNION CITY, N.J. — Many of the Cubans here don't like the idea of *balseros* being forcibly returned to Cuba, but they don't plan to demonstrate against President Clinton's policy turnabout either.

"It's not going to work. It's not going to resolve anything," said Fernando Albar during a lively streetside debate this weekend. Unlike Cubans in Miami, people here have little appetite for carrying signs or blocking traffic.

"We talk too much. That's why Castro's still in Cuba," joked Albar, 42, a pantyhose distributor who has lived in Union City since the Mariel boatlift.

Outside the Pathmark store, none of the shoppers had heard of any demonstrations, much less planned to take part in one.

"Making demonstrations with the Cuban flag is a mistake," said Yda Medina. "If a country welcomes you with open arms, you shouldn't demonstrate against its policies."

Medina, 45, has lived in New Jersey for 30 years. Like many who once made Union City one of the largest Cuban communities outside Florida, she has moved to the suburbs. She still comes here to shop and see friends, but on Bergenline Avenue, the stores are being taken over by Colombians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The sense of community isn't as strong, and people have other priorities.

"In Miami, everybody lives for politics," Medina said. "We're more integrated with Americans. We're not involved in that mess of knocking down Castro."

'We're too busy'

Jose and Mabel Porta might have reason to demonstrate. A year ago last week, they fled Cuba with their two daughters in a small boat, and were taken to the United States by the Coast Guard. But protest? They're worried more about finding health insurance and getting off welfare.

"Here, people have talked

about it, but I haven't heard of any demonstrations. And if there were, we wouldn't have joined it anyway," Porta said. "We're trying to find work. We're too busy to join in any parade."

Outside the Dairy Queen on Park Avenue, Sabrina Perez, 14, giggled when asked how people feel about Clinton's policy. It's not something she and her Cuban-American friends worry about. Her father and uncles are angry, but so far it's just talk, she said.

"They talk about it a lot, but nobody's getting up and carrying signs," she said. "I think they all have it in them. They just need a leader. If someone went around and said there's going to be a big protest, they'd go."

Union City is a working-class, mostly Latin suburb on a ridge overlooking the Hudson River and Manhattan. It straddles Interstate 495. If Cubans here wanted to stage a protest similar to the attempted blockade of the Port of Miami, the entrance to the Lincoln Tunnel is just a short walk down the hill.

But such a move would surely backfire, said Jose Diaz, a construction worker who arrived from Cuba about 1½ years ago.

"You don't gain anything" by causing trouble for non-Cubans, Diaz said. "Look, my family has been here 20 years. They know the reality, how things are."

In the Union City Cafeteria on Saturday, waiters rushed around with plates of Cuban food while a lone member of the anti-Castro group Alpha 66 plotted strategy in a booth in the back. At the bar, Orestes Alvarez, a retired hotel bartender, and Omar Jorin, a factory manager, ordered beers and held forth about the Cubans in Miami, where Alvarez, 55, plans to move next month.

"It's stupid to demonstrate," said Alvarez, criticizing the traffic stoppage that slowed an ambulance to the hospital. "What I say, I'm not afraid to say: It's stupid. It's all politics."

"I remember 1980. Fidel sent beautiful people; he sent delin-

quents, too," Alvarez said. "It's not fair to bring 20,000 people you don't know from Cuba. They're going to put these people on the street — who's going to support them?"

'A different country'

Jorin, who arrived in this country during Mariel, agreed with his friend.

"This is a different country. You're supposed to respect the place where you are," said Jorin, 42. "Don't come over here to make trouble. All those demonstrations, they should have done it to Fidel."

Silverio Rodriguez heard that a reporter was at the bar and took a seat, pulling out a card that identified him as coordinator general of Alpha 66, Delegacion del Norte.

Rodriguez hopes for a big crowd May 21 at a rally along Bergenline Avenue, when Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and [Alpha 66 leader] Diego Medina are expected to come up from Miami.

Alpha 66 can count Orlando Trespacios out, even though he's waiting to be reunited with a brother in the camps at Guantanamo Bay whom he hasn't seen in 35 years.

"I don't support these demonstrations," said Trespacios, who

runs his own restaurant supply business. "The deficit is already too high — this country can't provide for all the people who want to come here."

Bergenline Road is a long way from Calle Ocho, let alone Havana, and keeping younger generations interested in Cuba is difficult.

"You have to feel it here," Rodriguez explained, thumping his chest. "My own daughters, sometimes they say 'Papa, it's too much.' This generation, they say it's not right" to protest.

But Rodriguez is sure young people will attend Sunday's rally. Two anyway.

"Young people will show up. Yes!" Rodriguez said. "I'll call my own daughters. They'll go. I'll order them to do it and then hang up the phone. They'll go."

The containment of Castro

M.H. 5-14-95 CUBA
Robert Scheer, a contributing editor of *The Los Angeles Times*, wrote this article for *The Times*.

By ROBERT SCHEER

Thank God for Fidel Castro. And for Jesse Helms, who, if he had his way, would make smoking a Cuban cigar a capital offense. Helms' bill to tighten the embargo on trade with Cuba has been condemned by Canada and the European Union, but what do they know of Castro's unique place in the American political psyche? We would be lost without him.

Who would have thought it would come to this: The Caribbean mouse that roared is all that's left of our global crusade against communism. At a time when the Vietnam War is recognized as a "terrible mistake," and the Chinese communists represent the world's fastest-growing capitalist economy and the former Soviet Reds are on our welfare rolls, it's reassuring to have Castro to contain.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J. Only 90 miles from our shores are beaches, cigars, music and women so alluring that hundreds of thousands of Germans, Spaniards and Canadians are, even as we speak, risking their democratic souls and the opprobrium of the U.S. government to vacation there.

If Republicans think Hollywood is a threat to family values, they must shudder at the return of the Havana of old. In 1960, on the eve of the embargo, I caught one of the last flights out evacuating conventioners from Cuba to Key West, and let me tell you, getting them on the plane was a close call. One more round of rum and Cokes and they would have been lost to communism for the next 35 years.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J.

Then there's the democracy question. Castro is a dictator, and if he hadn't been isolated, we'd have other nondemocratic governments in the hemisphere. Just look at Guatemala, which inspired our Cuba policy. Back in 1950, nine years before Castro's revolution, Jacobo Arbenz was elected president of Guatemala. Some election — the wrong guy won. Arbenz had barely settled in when he started making moves on the United Fruit Co., talking about giving land to the peasants and other red stuff. Well, the CIA ousted him, and Guatemala was saved for the free world.

I know, the U.S.-trained Guatemalan military was recently blamed for killing a U.S. citizen who owned a hotel in the rain forest there, but that's a small price to pay for our national security. Nor does it matter that the accused killer, a colonel named Julio Alpirez, was a CIA operative. Who else can provide reliable inside information on the Guatemalan government?

True, Castro also killed, and he definitely had useful inside information, but that wasn't enough to qualify him as a U.S. ally. Castro had his chance; we tried working with him during his student revolutionary days, but when he got in power, he turned around and nationalized one of our nickel companies. We saw then that he had "commie" written all over him, and the final proof came when he turned to the Soviets for economic aid

after the U.S. government cut his access to trade with the West.

We tried to get rid of Castro with the Bay of Pigs invasion, but that failed when the people in Cuba didn't rise up as expected. Then we tried democracy through assassination. Just how hard we tried was documented in a CIA report, declassified two years ago, which detailed how the agency supplied the Mafia with money, explosives, infected saccharine pills and poisoned cigars. Strong believers in the free market, the Mafia shared the U.S. government's antipathy to Castro, who had nationalized their casinos, but the mob's hit men kept losing their nerve at the last minute.

Another U.S.-sponsored invasion was in the works when Castro got the Soviets to put some missiles in, and the world almost came to an end. But cooler heads prevailed and a deal was struck in which the United States agreed to stop trying to invade Cuba and instead continue a policy of economic strangulation and subversion. And the Soviets took their missiles home.

A somewhat muddled policy, you might say, but be fair: Bob McNamara was in charge. As he said in a 1987 interview reflecting back on the Cuban Missile Crisis: "What in the hell does the president of the Ford Motor Co., which I was, know about the issue? I'll tell you what this automobile executive knew: Zero! Nothing! I knew it too. I felt in my heart that my appointment as secretary of defense was wrong."

No argument here. But in this season of mea culpas, maybe we should shift tactics and follow the example of our China policy: Try invading Cuba with salesmen instead. Once inundated with credit cards, VCRs and Coca-Cola, communism doesn't stand a chance. And will the last sailor out of Guantanamo please turn out the lights.

24 Cubans found 1 stalled speedboat

Feds questioning
2 exiles on board

M.H. 5-15-95
By DAVID HANCOCK *USA*
Herald Staff Writer

Two Cuban Americans were in federal custody Sunday on suspicion of having piloted a boat from South Florida to Cuba to pick up 24 Cubans on the island, including a young woman who apparently died during the trip.

At about 8:30 a.m. Sunday, a Coast Guard helicopter sighted an emergency flare fired from a crowded, 30-foot Scarab speedboat stalled south of Key West.

"The powerboat was dead in the water and we diverted two cutters to the scene," said Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt.

When the cutters arrived, Coast Guardsmen found a 22-year-old dead woman on board. In addition, the group included 11 men, eight women, one girl and three boys.

The 23 Cubans were transferred to one of the cutters, where they remained at sea Sunday night. They will likely be interviewed by a U.S. immigration officer about possible asylum claims.

"They'll remain at sea until there is a determination of what to do with them," Waldschmidt said.

If asylum is not granted, they will probably be repatriated to Cuba, just like 24 other rafters who were returned last week.

"That is U.S. policy at this time," Waldschmidt said.

The Coast Guard brought the two Cuban-American men and the dead woman to shore at Key West. The woman, whose identity was not known, was turned over to the Monroe County medical examiner's office, which will determine the cause of death.

U.S. Attorney Kendall Coffey of Miami identified the men as Abel Eugenio Fuentes-Miranda, 21, and Jorge Niner, no age available. They are both believed to be from Dade, Coffey said.

Both men were in the custody of federal immigration agents, who were questioning them

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 6A

CUBANS, FROM 1A

about possible involvement in immigrant smuggling.

"The facts and the law will be examined and if proveable violations of federal law can be established, a prosecution will be pursued," Coffey said.

Coffey said the 30-foot powerboat was registered to Everardo Nodarse of Hialeah.

Contacted Sunday night by The Herald, Nodarse said he was unaware the boat had been intercepted by the Coast Guard. He said he kept the 30-foot Scarab at a friend's house in Kendall.

Nodarse then called the friend, Juan Carlos Rodriguez, who said he had loaned the boat to the two men for a date Saturday night. Rodriguez said the two men, Fuentes-Miranda and Niner, were rafters who came to South Florida two or three years ago.

Both Rodriguez and Nodarse said they were unaware of any plans by the two young men to make a trip to Cuba. Nodarse said the 1994 powerboat is valued at about \$50,000.

Archbishop's letter

Meanwhile, Miami Archbishop John C. Favalora wrote a letter, read at Masses Sunday throughout the archdiocese, commenting about last week's tumultuous events, which include traffic blockades and other protest by Cuban

Americans angered over the new U.S. policy of returning Cuban boat people to Cuba.

"Recent developments regarding the Cuban refugees have brought mixed emotions to our community. We rejoice over the news of the release of the refugees in Guatemala and, with our Cuban brothers and sisters, we are pained by the United States government's decision to repatriate new-found rafters," the letter said.

"Equally painful is the tension these times bring to the entire community. These are times when emotions run high and hearts are heavy. I appeal to everyone in the archdiocese to bring these current turn of events to the Lord for healing and understanding. This is a time for everyone in the community to pray for prudence, patience and an ever spirit."

Exile groups protesting the new U.S. policy have called for a general work strike on Tuesday, urging Cuban Americans and anyone else to boycott work as a show of solidarity with the Cuban rafters.

Vigils throughout Dade

Sunday, however, was a peaceful day of protest, with several vigils held throughout the county. At night, dozens of Cuban Americans gathered at La Ermita de la Caridad, the shrine to

Cuba's patron saint in Coconut Grove, to pray for those on the island and for a change in the new policy of repatriating rafters.

"It's terrible what is happening. I never would have believed that the United States would do this," said Francisco Gonzalez, 67, who came from

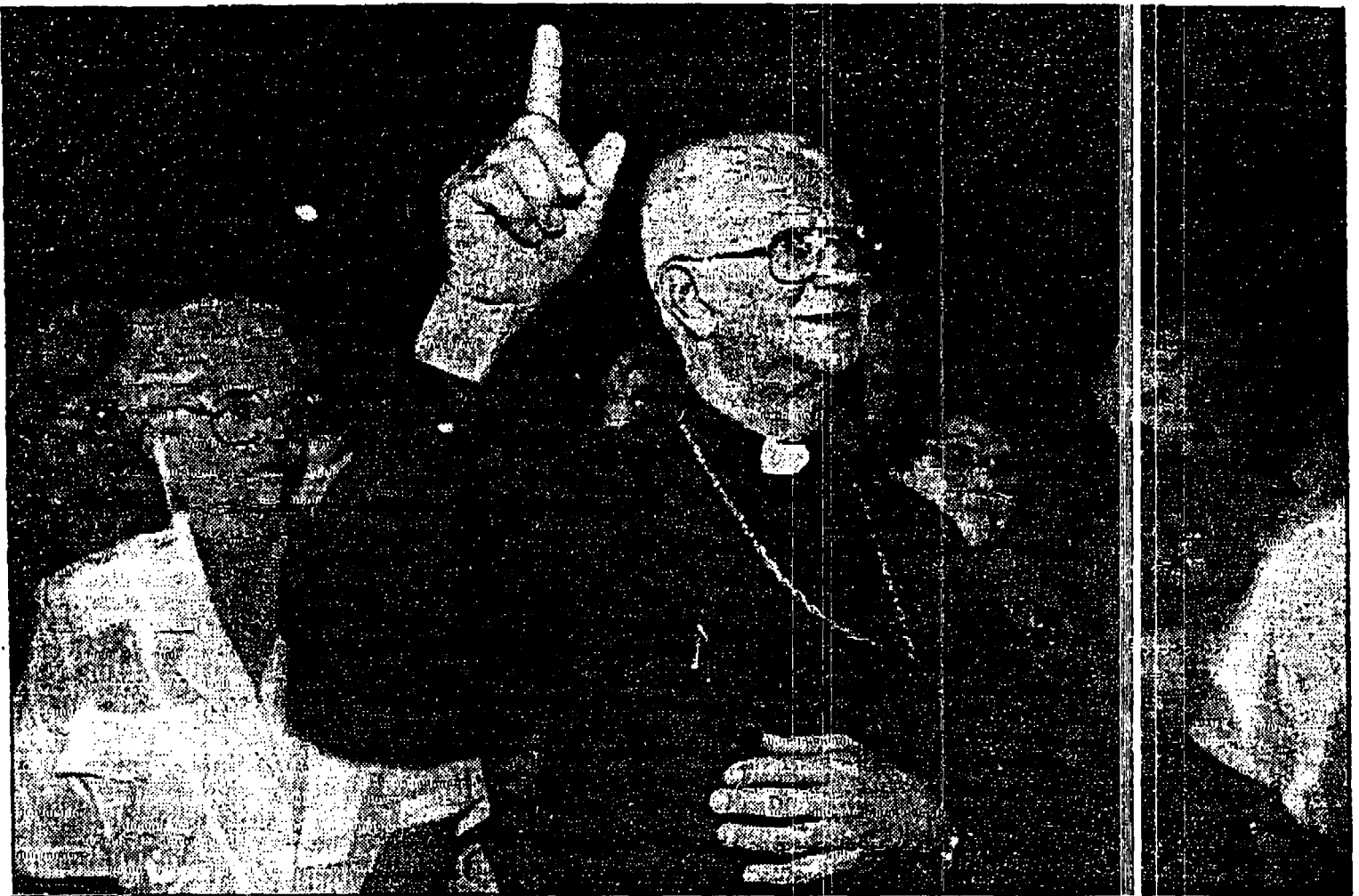
Cuba 28 years ago. "When someone leaves a communist country, they never look back. Get rid of Castro, not the poor people who are fleeing communism."

As a full moon glistened on the waters of Biscayne Bay, Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman led the group in praying for

compassion.

"We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others," said Roman. "And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro."

Herald staff writer John Lantigua contributed to this report.



DAVID BERGMAN / Herald Staff

COCONUT GROVE VIGIL: 'We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others,' said

Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman Sunday night. 'And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro.'

Coast Guard is focus of ambivalent rally

By ANA MENENDEZ
Herald Staff Writer

Under perfect blue skies, about 100 Cuban Americans stood outside Miami Beach's Coast Guard station Saturday in a demonstration that seemed torn between giving thanks and demanding change.

"We've heard many wonderful stories of the heroism of the Coast Guard in saving Cuban lives," said Isaura Pino, dressed in black. "But we're sad their roles changed and we want them to feel solidarity with us."

Many demonstrators held signs protesting the repatriation policy. Some wore new, creased T-shirts showing President Bill Clinton and Fidel Castro lounging together, smoking cigars.

"Clinton is a communist," Ernesto Corvo said, echoing the words on his T-shirt. "He's had too many talks with Castro."

By the MacArthur Causeway, Richard Maura, 20, stood waving a huge Cuban flag.

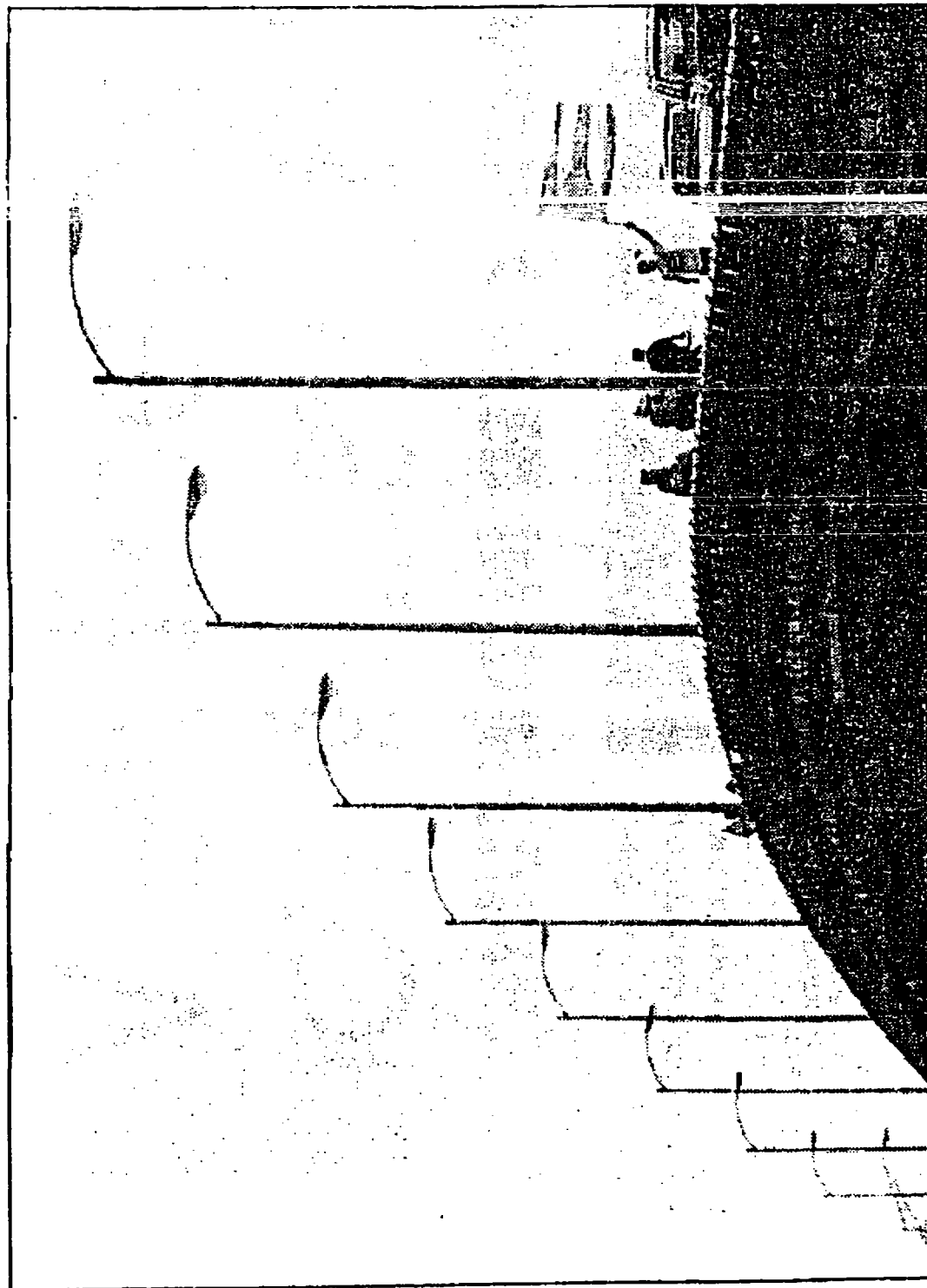
"I want Cuba to be free for my parents," he said. "They've done so much for me, I'm doing this for them."

Many drivers beeped car horns. A red BMW drove by with anti-Clinton slogans painted on the windshield. Other motorists shouted: "Go back to Cuba!"

At times, media and police seemed to outnumber the demonstrators, who came to life under the cameras.

"Thank you! Thank you!" demonstrators shouted at men wearing Coast Guard uniforms.

"We appreciate it," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said.



SEEKING POLICY REVERSAL: Protesting Cuban Americans say they're sad that the Coast Guard's mission has changed.

MU11 / ALBONA / Herald Staff

Don't take unity out of community

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Amidst a discussion with a co-worker regarding the new U.S. policy toward Cuban rafters, I found myself getting mad. I mean really angry. I had to end the conversation and leave the room before a peaceful discussion became an argument.

As I walked away I examined my reaction. Why, exactly, was I angry? I am a white woman in my middle 30s with three small children who attend public school. I am married to a Cuban. My long-time boss, for whom I have the utmost respect, is a Cuban. I am an active advocate for the less fortunate, and I've taught my children to look past color or creed to the human underneath. Still, suddenly I find myself in the position of being the despised *them* in the game of *us* against *them* that many Cubans are determined to promote.

I grew up in a black neighborhood in Los Angeles where I was hated for the color of my skin. I married in California and moved to Hialeah. I did not find the Cuban community any more open to me than the black community had been. I was the enemy, a threat to the purity of their cultural heritage. I was told, Cubans should marry Cubans, etc. Regardless of my personal beliefs, regardless of who I was, I could never truly be a part simply because of my race.

I know about discrimination — hate, ignorance, and racial and cultural disharmony. But through it all I have clung to the values my parents fought hard to instill in me. We are one people. We all hurt, laugh, cry, and bleed the same way. Why do we fight so hard to deny this?

I would like to see the Cuban community make more of an effort to enlist the help of people outside of their own culture in this fight. I would like them to drop the assumption that we are all against them, and believe us innocent until proven guilty of ignorance and hardness of heart. I would like to read less about how poorly the Cuban community has been treated and more about how we can all come together to reach a common goal.

Americans, on the whole, deplore dictators. We will fight for human rights if given the chance. But when we are accosted on the street by angry mobs, blocked from reaching our children as schools close, lumped together as adversaries regardless of our true thoughts, we *become* adversaries to the very cause that we might have joined.

I would ask that all of us see beyond our pride and open our hearts to the neighbors we've lived with, many of us, for nearly all of our lives. Give people a chance. You might be surprised.

VIRGINIA ESTAPE
Pembroke Pines

MANILA (Magazine)



We are not the enemy

I congratulate Janet Reno and Bill Clinton's administration for *finally* forming a sensible policy on Cuban rafters. Why do the Cubans continue to risk their and their children's lives by setting out in shark infested waters on rickety rafts?

The Clinton administration and the U.S. attorney general are not their enemies, Castro is.

JACK BOLING
Miami

Not their place to speak out

The Cubans are telling our government and our president how to run our immigration laws, but many of them are not even U.S. citizens. Something's wrong with this picture!!

MARIE MAXSON
Pompano Beach

Meaning of freedom

America was built by the strength of the immigrants. From the western railroads to the big city skyscrapers, we have come a long way.

May God bless the man who strives to be free, for it is he who knows the true meaning of freedom.

GENEVIEVE ROMAN
North Miami

How about a 'thank you'?

It would help if Cubans would say thank you to President Clinton and the American people for permitting Cubans to immigrate here. Presidents and Americans have given them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

A simple, sincere *thank you* would be nice.

NANCY WOERNER
Plantation

Prove persecution

If Cubans want to resolve the refugee problem, let them accept that U.S. laws must be upheld. To be allowed entry into the United States, persons fleeing Cuba must provide irrefutable proof that they would be persecuted if sent back.

I doubt that many in Guantanamo, and many already here, could pass that test. Most are economic refugees fleeing a bankrupt regime.

JOHN DELIA
Miami

The untouchables

I like living in Miami because it's so close to the United States. However, I would like to know why this country has had a 30-year open-door policy for Cubans.

It's not because of communism; otherwise we'd have Little Vietnam, Little China, and Little Russia blooming on Eighth Street. And if it is out of guilt for the Bay of Pigs, after 30 years we've long paid our dues.

A. TARIEL
Miami

'I am sick and tired'

I am sick and tired of the Cuban problem; we cannot live in peace. It's Castro who dictates U.S. foreign policy. Whenever he feels like it, he dumps thousands of refugees here.

I am sick and tired of this, and I applaud Jorge Mas Canosa for refusing to continue to pay for this. Let Mr. Clinton and Janet Reno take care of these refugees' expenses.

MARIA E. SANCHEZ
Miami

No blind faith for Cuba

M. H. 5-13-95 CUBA

The so-called Tarnoff-Alarcon immigration accord between Cuba and the United States is being put to the test before the ink on it dries. On Tuesday the U.S. Coast Guard returned the first 13 rafters to Cuba.

The agreement made public on May 2 commits the Cuban regime, a notorious human rights violator, to a civilized standard of conduct toward Cuban "returnees." According to Attorney General Janet Reno, Fidel Castro's government assured the United States that "no one will suffer reprisals, lose benefits, or be prejudiced in any manner, either because he or she sought to depart irregularly or because he or she has applied for refugee status at the U.S. Interests Section" in Havana.

Until May 2, the United States had reason to assume that rafters returned to Cuba would automatically suffer political persecution. Over the years, the Cuban regime has jailed thousands found guilty of "illegal departure," an offense that's still a crime in Cuba.

However, under the terms first of the September 1994 U.S.-Cuban immigration agreement and now of the May 2 accord, the Cuban government pledged to stop persecuting people caught trying to "depart via irregular means." That generally means rafters and boat people.

The immigration pact's critics and other skeptics justifiably have questioned the Cuban government's readiness to live up to its commitments. Havana has often agreed "in principle" to things that it had not the slightest intention of carrying out in practice. Indeed, some of the first "returnees" contend that Castro's repressive appara-

ON IMMIGRATION ACCORD

The United States must monitor the situation of repatriated rafters closely. Other wise, the immigration pact could be in trouble.

tus already is violating the spirit of the immigration agreements. Some of the 13 returnees told Herald reporter Armando Correa and U.S. Interests Section officials that they had suffered "harassment" at the hands of Cuban police. But U.S. diplomats visiting the returnees'

homes in the provincial capital of Camaguey assert that they saw no evidence of harassment.

Still, both supporters and detractors of the accord must ask themselves what fate awaits the returnees when U.S. Interests Section officers are not around to monitor Cuban authorities' behavior. Moreover, the number of returnees could swell. Hence the U.S. staff must be large enough to monitor the treatment of repatriated Cubans and to process their visa applications.

The May 2 agreement commits the United States to this — and to "examining" the asylum claims of rafters "before return." Returnees also have the right to apply for refugee status at the Interests Section in Havana. They can't jump to the front of the queue, however, and they'll have to meet the same tests as other applicants.

Either way, "harassment" by itself does not constitute grounds for granting refugee status to anyone. Yet U.S. diplomats should not be predisposed to reject asylum claims, as they were in Haiti, where Washington was reminded that smooth-talking representatives of dictatorships cannot be taken at their word. Washington's failure to monitor the situation of Cuban returnees would expose repatriated rafters to possible Cuban government reprisals and imperil the immigration agreement.

U.S., Cuban generals talk at Guantanamo;

rafters returned

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

RESIGNATION MAY SLOW CUBAN REFORM, 18A
HAITI NATIVE AIDS GUANTANAMO KIDS, 16

By DON BOHNING
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

A U.S. general and his Cuban counterpart met this week at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo Bay to discuss the possible repatriation by land of some of the 21,000 Cuban rafters held at the base. U.S. officials said Friday.

Confirmation of the meeting came as 11 rafters, including a pregnant woman, were returned to Cuba without incident aboard a U.S. Coast Guard cutter. It was the second such repatriation this week, an operation that U.S. officials described as quickly becoming routine.

U.S. officials said the meeting between a Cuban general and U.S. Air Force Brig. Gen. John Allen, head of the military joint task force in charge of the

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 18A

CUBANS, FROM 1A

refugee program at Guantanamo, took place Tuesday in a tent just inside the U.S. naval base.

They discussed the repatriation by land of those Cubans at Guantanamo not expected to be given migrant visas to the United States under the new U.S. policy adopted last week by the Clinton administration, the officials confirmed.

While most of the 21,000 Cubans held at the base since last summer's rafter crisis are expected to receive U.S. visas, the new policy would repatriate some of those with criminal records, mental problems or a record of violence against their U.S. guards.

"The [Guantanamo] meeting went extremely well," said a U.S. official. "The Cubans were obviously well prepared, ready to make some decisions and very amenable for returns through the northeast gate."

Of the Cuban rafters returned Friday in the second such repatriation since the Clinton administration shifted policy on May 2, nine were rescued by the Coast Guard Wednesday from a sinking boat north of Cuba. The next

day the same cutter intercepted two more rafters.

Friday's repatriation at the port of Cabañas west of Havana was a replay of the return Tuesday of 13 Cubans who had been rescued off the island's south coast by a Miami-based cruise ship and turned over to the Coast Guard.

First off the cutter Friday after it docked were the pregnant woman and her boyfriend, according to U.S. officials. Accompanied by a doctor, they were taken by ambulance to an immigration processing center on the outskirts of Havana.

Richard Nuccio, a senior State Department official involved in Cuban affairs, said only one of the 11 rafters made a claim for political asylum strong enough to merit special treatment — presumably during an onboard interview with U.S. immigration agents.

Nuccio said, however, that "further review determined that the person did not have a credible fear of return and was returned Friday" along with the other 10 refugees.

U.S. officials said the 11 returnees met with a U.S. immigration officer aboard the cutter

and "he determined ... that there were no fears which would preclude them pursuing whatever avenues they might wish" to apply for regular U.S. visas in Havana.

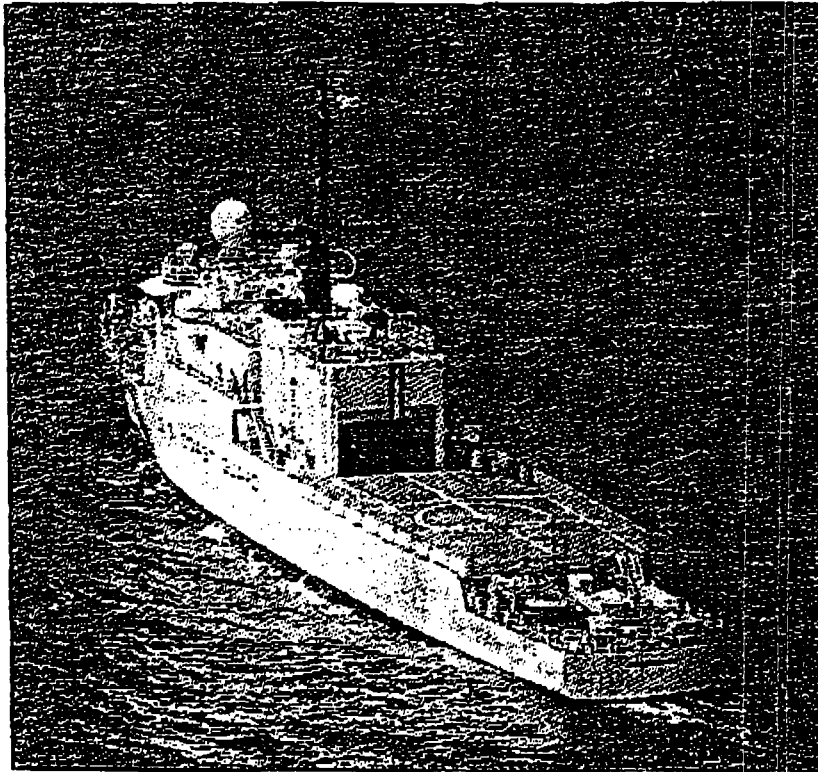
The cutter docked at Cabañas at 11:42 a.m. Friday and departed 45 minutes later, according to Petty Officer Steve Aitkins, a Coast Guard spokesman in Miami. It was met by a handful of journalists and representatives from the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba.

As with the 13 returned on Tuesday, the 11 repatriated Friday were taken to Havana for processing. They were scheduled to leave for their homes in several cities around central Cuba — later in the day.

"Everything went fine," said a Havana-based diplomat. "The returnees were cooperative. The discussions were brief."

Unlike the 13 repatriated Tuesday who were outfitted in clothes obtained from the cruise ship, the 11 returned Friday were described as raggedly dried and "weather worn." Some had been at sea since April 9, according to U.S. officials.

In Washington, acting Se



Associated Press

ENTERING CUBAN WATERS: The U.S. Coast Guard cutter Mohawk arrives north of Bahía de Cabañas Friday.

Department spokesman David Johnson said U.S. diplomats in Cuba will visit the latest return-

ees "as soon as possible, and an officer may be dispatched as early as today [Friday] to their

hometown for this express purpose."

Johnson added that two other officers from the U.S. Interests Section in Havana had met in Camaguey with 12 of the 43 Cubans returned Tuesday and expected to meet with the last one on Friday.

"They've enjoyed full access to them. The migrants have been able to freely meet as a group among themselves and have been able to meet both individually and as a group with U.S. officers," Johnson said.

He said a few of them "complained to the officers of minor harassment since their return to Camaguey," complaints which "the U.S. government takes seriously."

Johnson said Joe Sullivan, the top U.S. diplomat in Havana, met Thursday with Cuban diplomat Ricardo Alarcon in Havana to express U.S. concerns. Alarcon "reiterated his government's assurance that the returned migrants will not be harassed or otherwise prejudiced for having attempted to leave Cuba illegally," he said.

Herald staff writer Susan Benesch contributed to this report.

Employers predict business as usual on Tuesday

on Tuesday

By MIMI WHITEFIELD
And SUSANA BARCIELA
Herald Business Writers

South Florida employers said Friday they don't expect a planned work stoppage next week to disrupt business, but many plan to meet Monday to reassess the situation.

Work stoppages and general strikes to press a political agenda are a time-honored tradition in Latin America, but the concept of workers staying off the job for political reasons seemed to catch many Miami employers by surprise.

"We have no policy, decision or comment at this time," said Marc Cohen, a spokesman for Jackson Memorial Hospital. His was a fairly typical response.

Municipal governments in Dade and Broward counties said they expect to carry on as usual

Tuesday.

Will 'work with' protesters

Most employers said they wouldn't retaliate against workers who may take the day off. But most companies expect their employees who don't work Tuesday to take a vacation day or lose the pay.

"Employees who strongly believe in the work stoppage are encouraged to take vacation time to participate," said Kim Miller, spokeswoman at Burger King. "We will work with those employees."

The sentiment was similar at Robles & Gonzalez, a 55-person law firm in downtown Miami.

"We anticipate all 55 will be working because the office is extremely busy and people are very dedicated," said Louis Robles. "But if any of the staff

M.H. 5-13-95 CWS/7

Though general strikes are common in Latin America, South Florida bosses seem surprised by the prospect.

did participate, we would honor that personal decision."

Dave Dawson, spokesman for Ryder System, said "If an employee wants to take a floating holiday on Tuesday or Thursday or any other day, they are free to do so."

At Hialeah's Telenoticias, a Spanish-language all-news network, Tuesday is expected to be a busy day.

"We going to be covering [the work stoppage], but here at Telenoticias we're going to be working. After all, this is a 24-

hour news station," said Gustavo Pupo-Mayo, the network president.

Some managers, however, fear a snowball effect. "There may be a lot of people joining in just to take the day off," said the manager of a branch bank in Miami. "Put it this way: I'll be here."

Concern for health care

There also is concern about the impact on hospitals and other critical community services if a significant number of workers decided to protest.

"I hope that people who work

in medicine will not stop working, regardless of their political view. These people [here] are sick. Workers can't just walk off the job," said a worker at Baptist Hospital.

Miami International Airport spokesman Mark Henderson said no special plans are in place.

"We have 30,000 employees at this airport," Henderson said. "I don't know who is going to leave and who is going to stay, but the airport is going to function."

So will the phone company, said Southern Bell spokesman Spero Canton. Employees recognize how critical phone lines can be in any emergency, said Canton. "They know they have a responsibility to our customers to not jeopardize that."

Canton said few Southern Bell employees participated in protests this week. There were no

phone interruptions earlier this week when protest organizers called for a five-minute work stoppage, he said.

Temporary help agencies said their phones were not ringing off the hook Friday.

"Personally, I don't know how many people take this seriously enough to risk their jobs," said Holly Lewis, president of Budget Quality Staffing.

But some companies clearly are nervous. When asked if they had plans for Tuesday, several companies declined to comment, saying they didn't want to be unwitting targets of the protest.

Greg Brown, Michelle Chandler, Don Finefrock, Rafael Lorde, Ana Menéndez, Ted Reed, Jack Rejman, Christina Samuels and Amy Vernon contributed to this report.

Miami protests find no echo in Cuba

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Herald Staff

HAVANA — For loud reaction to the U.S. decision to repatriate Cuban rafters, one must turn on the radio and tune in Miami.

It is easy to catch Miami's Spanish-language radio here, with commentators railing against the U.S. migration negotiations with Cuba and reports on demonstrations in Miami. Since the accents are nearly all Cuban, it takes a moment to realize that they are describing another city.

In contrast to the clamor in Miami, Havana seems calm. Demonstrations — except those organized by the government — are rare in Cuba. Daily life commands more urgent attention than politics, as Cubans try to cope with high food prices and power blackouts.

The approach of summer raises the level of anxiety. In the last two years, summer has been accompanied by increasing blackouts and restlessness.

For the moment, Havana neighborhoods have blackouts for a few hours on two days a week — an improvement over recent months. Many are announced in advance, which makes them easier to tolerate. But Cubans expect the blackouts to grow longer, as they did last summer, with increasing electricity consumption. Blackouts also interrupt food supplies and distribution.

High price of oil

Food supplies are generally better than they were a year ago, Cubans say, but still uneven. Rice and beans have been abundant lately, but the cooking oil that people use to prepare them has been so scarce that its price on the black market went up last week to \$8 for a small bottle.

The Cuban government is most worried about August, the month when protests broke out last year, followed by the exodus of boat people.

Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina recently told a group of Cuban journalists that he plans to invite some Cuban Americans to Havana in August, and hopes that will dissuade Miami commentators from encouraging violence at the same time, said one journalist who was present.

Another Cuban writer said some people fear Aug. 13 because it is President Fidel Castro's birthday, and his more daring

opponents might choose that day to try to cause trouble.

But many Cubans, including dissidents, say they think unrest is unlikely.

The presence of fear

"Last summer, when people went out in the streets, people said Cubans had lost their fear. But the thing is that fear is very easy to get back," said a prominent Cuban writer.

Earlier this week in Cojimar, a beach town just east of Havana, a broad-bellied man resting with his bicycle said it was unfair for the United States to send Cuban rafters home. "We are having a very hard life," he said.

He began to list his family budget, complaining that many of the items in his government ration book are no longer delivered monthly, as they are listed in the book. He must buy many necessities on the open market for exorbitant prices. A bar of soap costs more than 10 percent of a laborer's monthly wage.

Another exodus?

The most likely form of disorder, Cubans say, would be another exodus, since most Cubans who are very discontented want to leave, not rebel. ~~And in the face of a massive exodus, the United States might be forced to change its policy again.~~

But even an exodus is not unlikely, Cubans say. Many of those who were willing to risk their lives on rafts did so last summer, when the Cuban government made no effort to stop them. That exodus relieved the pressure; now there are fewer potential rafters desperate to go, said several people who remained behind in coastal towns near Havana.

Many Cubans are hoping that the negotiations between the United States and Cuba will bear further fruit, perhaps including less restrictive travel for Cuban Americans who want to visit their families in Cuba. Some people in Havana say they would be less eager to leave if their exiled families could visit more easily.

Some also hold out hope that the Cuban government will take more steps to liberalize the economy, giving private individuals a chance to make a living and to work independently.

With possible changes and a long, hot summer looming, many Cubans said, the wisest policy is to wait and see.

Work stoppage planned

M. H. 5-12-45

By DAVID HANCOCK *Cuba*
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

Round 2 is under way in the U.S. government's controversial repatriation of Cuban rafters. Nine rescued Cubans — eight men and a woman — spent Thursday night on a Coast Guard cutter that could take them back to Cuba as early as today.

Thursday afternoon, the Coast Guard picked up two more Cuban men on a raft. They were expected to be transferred to the same cutter as the other nine.

A Coast Guard jet spotted the first group of Cubans in a home-made, 15-foot sailboat struggling amid six-foot waves Wednesday evening in the Florida Straits.

"The waves were washing over the side of the sailboat and it was taking on water," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said. "The plane radioed one of the cutters that was on patrol in the straits. It got over there in less than an hour and got the people off the sailboat before it sank."

The rescues may have been salvation of a sort, but not all that the Cubans might have hoped for in these changing political tides. Government sources say some or all of the 11 Cubans could be returned to the island as early as this afternoon, after an immigration officer on the Coast Guard cutter interviews them about possible political asylum claims.

Cuban exile groups in Dade County, meanwhile, took a breather Thursday after a week filled with rallies, marches, traffic blockades and other protests against the new Cuban repatriation policy. Thursday was spent planning new ways to make their position known, most notably a "work stoppage" day planned for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

The 11 Cubans are the second

Traffic jams are just most visible protest

M.H. 5-13-75 CUBA

The protests are widespread and varied. Not all who disagree with the Clinton administration's new Cuba policy are hurling their bodies in front of cars, banging on hoods, choking traffic.

"But you just watch," warned the young Cuban-American professor and documentary filmmaker. "Tomorrow, this entire day of protest will amount to a traffic story.

"Those people out there," he said, referring to the rush-hour protesters, "have good intentions. But they are being counter-productive."

The traffic jam. "That's all the people of South Florida are going to see and, Cuban and non-Cuban, they are going to be ticked off," he said one hot afternoon this week.

In what he believes to be a more powerful, peaceful way, 27-year-old Joe Cardona has been sitting outside The Herald building for nearly a week. He and film partner and fellow professor Alex Anton, and several others, are protagonists of one of the more curious displays of outrage toward the administration for repatriating rafters to Cuba. They are staging a "chain fast," called "Fasting for Justice," and hope to build a wide circle of young protesters who relieve one another after several days of fasting.

It is their response to the interdiction of Cubans at sea by U.S. Coast Guard boats. Anton and Cardona were riding along State Road 836, listening to National Public Radio, when they heard about the policy shift.

"This goes against everything this country has stood for. We decided we needed to take a stand," says Anton, 28.

Days later, it was Cardona who was on NPR, lambasting the policy from a plastic-covered mattress in The Herald parking lot.

The protesters, although a generation away from the old Cuban guard, shared an instant identification with the traditional methods of Cuban dissent. A hunger strike, they thought. But, in an effort to invite other supporters, Cuban and otherwise, they came up with the chain idea.

Last year, Anton and Cardona produced a popular documentary called *Breaking the Silence*, a film about the nonviolent opposition inside Cuba.

Today, in their protest, they are joined by Sebastian Arcos Cazabon, an exiled human rights activist and son of jailed dissident Sebastian Arcos. So it is a mix of protesters who state their cause underneath the white canvas tent in the parking lot. There are *cubanitos* from here and *cubanitos* from there. There is even a rafter who arrived just weeks ago.

What they have agreed on, though, is to educate, not antagonize.

"You're asking people to take a leap of faith to your cause. You have to do that by opening their hearts and minds, not getting into a shouting match," says Anton.

The protests are widespread and varied.

I've heard about former Democratic Party loyalists who are taking down their photos of handshakes with Bill Clinton.

I've heard about Cubans quitting their government posts in protest.

I've heard more than several Democrat friends say they want to ditch the party, register Independent.

This cause has even made lawbreakers out of lawmakers. The sight of U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart getting arrested was startling. Here he was, the embodiment of The American Dream, in handcuffs.

At the scene, a disgusted Frank Calzon, a human rights advocate for Freedom House, turned to a cop and said, "Officer, if you want to enforce the law, you have to go to the other side, because the president is breaking the law."

The disgust is widespread. And it is about more than just traffic.

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

White
Andicos 1977

SANDY
MORT
MACK
LEON
HAROLD
McCurry

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—

Curb Cuban immigration?

Yes, most in survey agree

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA/immig.

By JOHN LANTIGUA and STEPHEN K. DOIG
Herald Staff Writers

Nearly half of Cuban Americans in Dade agree with other county residents that immigration from Cuba should be sharply limited, according to a new Herald poll.

In a weekend survey of 485 county residents, pollsters found significant disagreement within the Cuban-American commu-

■ QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES, 6A

nity about Cuban immigration and how the U.S. government should handle it. While most of them favor blanket admission of Cubans into this country as legal residents, a sizable number of Cuban Americans feel differently.

At least a third of Cuban Americans sur-

veyed also agreed that:

■ The U.S. government was not wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters back to Cuba.

■ Cubans who arrive in the United States without visas should be considered illegal immigrants.

■ Cubans should be treated the same as

PLEASE SEE POLL, 6A

TIME FOR LIMITS?

Future Cuban immigration should be sharply limited, according to a solid majority of non-Cubans in Dade. Nearly half of Dade Cuban-Americans agree.

The statement: "The U.S. was right to admit Cuban refugees in the past, but the time has come to sharply limit Cuban immigration."

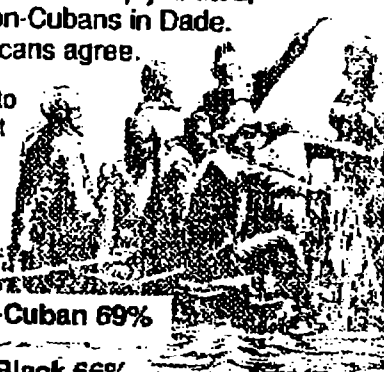
Those in agreement:

Cuban 45%

Hispanic non-Cuban 69%

Black 66%

White non-Hispanic 69%



Leon
Harold
Nack
McCurry
Sandy
MORT

Haitian or other immigrants, not afforded a special status that grants them automatic legal residency.

■ Cubans now fleeing the island are economic refugees looking for a better life, not political refugees fleeing repression.

■ Dade County schools are overcrowded because of immigration.

"The Cuban community has never been monolithic," said Damian Fernandez, a professor of International Studies at Florida International University. "In the population in general, there is a feeling we have to close the door and Cubans are not immune to those feelings."

"Cubans here now have their feet in two camps," he said. "In part they see themselves as political refugees and in part they are members of a minority trying to make it in this country. The immigration issue affects them in that sense as well."

Most Cuban Americans surveyed still believe they have a moral duty to oppose the repatriation of Cuban rafters and feel strongly that anyone returned to Cuba will face persecution by President Fidel Castro's government.

They feel betrayed by President Clinton and, more often than not, say last week's traffic tie-ups and other acts of disruptive civil disobedience were effective in gaining sympathy for the Cuban exile cause.

That puts them tremendously at odds with their neighbors — blacks, Anglos and non-Cuban Hispanics.

"I think it is clear that [the majority of] Cubans have isolated themselves politically from the rest of the population," said Miguel Gonzalez Pando, director of the Cuban Living History Project at Florida International University.

"For years, they didn't make the effort to make contact with these other groups, to explain their issues, and now it is showing."

An attempt by protest leaders to compare their cause with the civil rights movement of the 1960s didn't register with blacks polled. Two-thirds said they didn't consider Cuban immigration a civil rights issue.

"If the Cubans had shown more support for the Haitian boat people, maybe they could count on support now," said Gonzalez Pando. "Now the shoe is on the other foot."

The non-Cuban groups polled also strongly oppose disruptive acts of civil disobedience used recently by Cubans to protest President Clinton's new policy of repatriating Cuban rafters. More than half of the non-Cubans polled said those demonstrators should be immediately arrested.

"I think it is clear that the demonstrations have not been effective in terms of changing the perception of the population as to the plight of the Cuban people," said Antonio Jorge, professor of economics and international relations at FIU. "These people don't have the same political experience Cuban people do, an experience of totalitarianism, and the Cuban community has not done the job of communicating that."

Almost one third of Cuban Americans polled also felt that protesters who block public thoroughfares should be arrested and said the protests have been ineffective.

"Many Cubans are saying, 'The culprit is not my neighbor,'" Fernandez said. "It is Washington that is the culprit. I think if the disturbances go on another week, most Cubans will be against them."

There were several areas in which all the groups agreed.

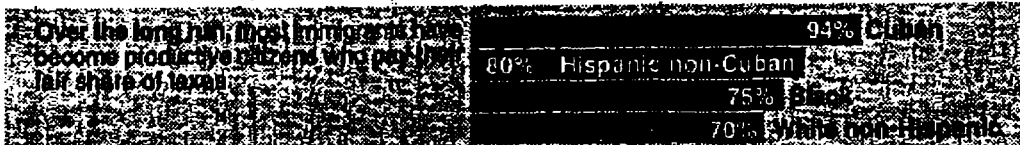
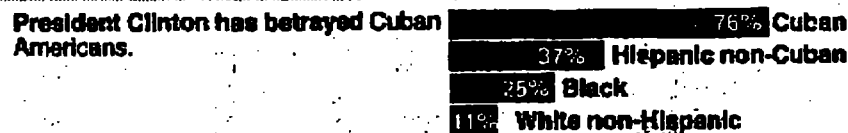
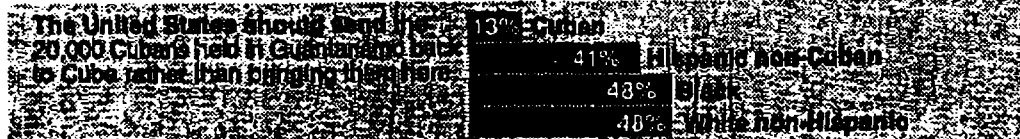
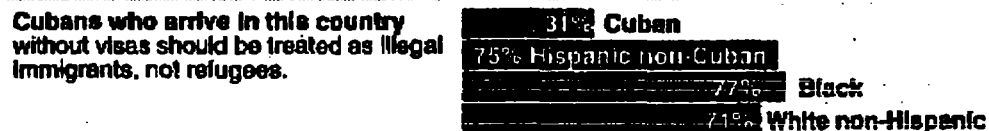
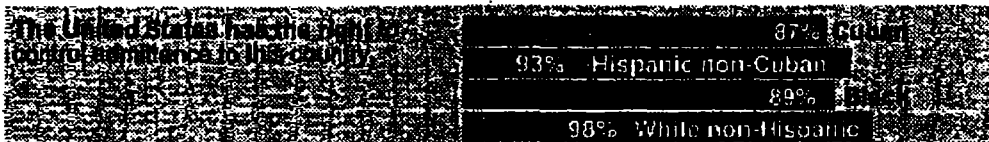
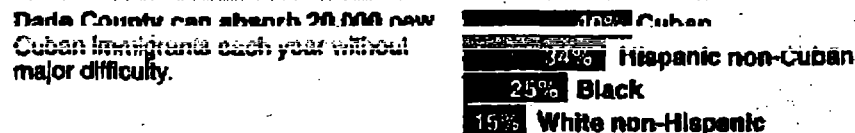
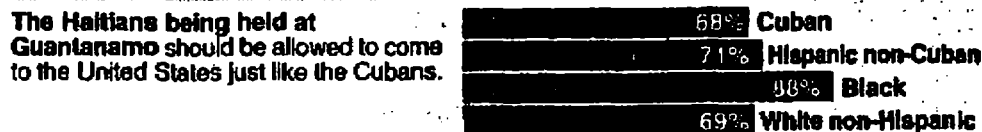
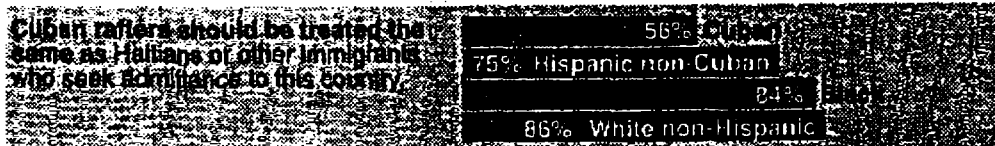
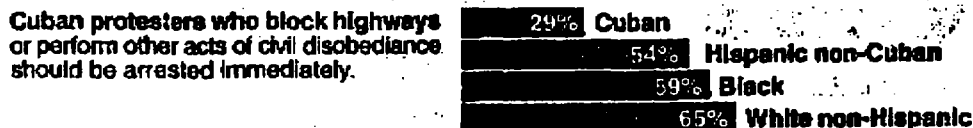
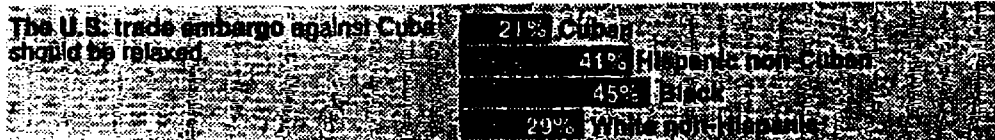
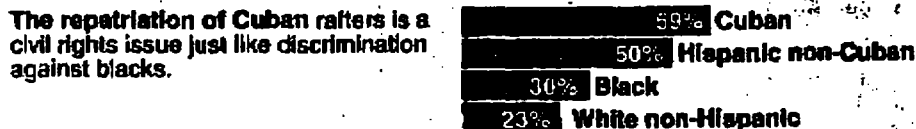
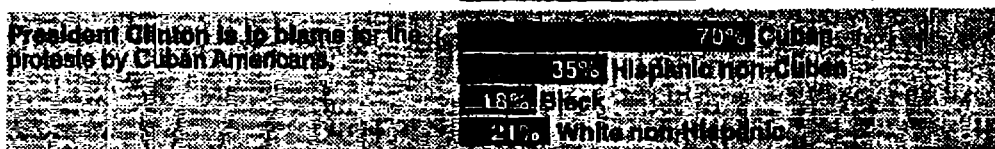
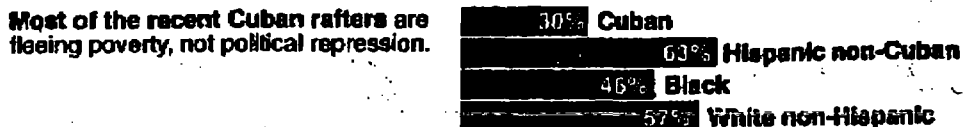
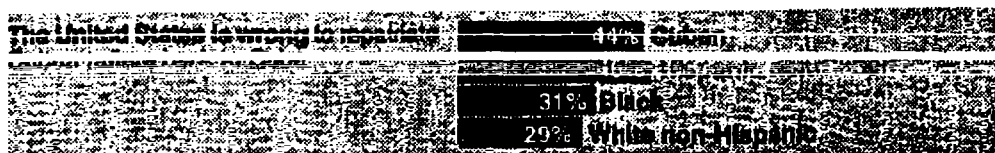
They concurred that Cuban and Haitian refugees should be treated the same, that the eco-

nomie embargo against Cuba should not be lifted, and that immigrants, in general, end up paying their fair share of taxes.

They also agreed that Cuban protesters were treated better than blacks who have rallied on behalf of Haitians.

On several issues, the Cuban Americans found support from other Hispanics. Nearly half of other Hispanics felt the United States was wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters and that Cuban immigration is a civil rights issue. They agreed that the Cuban government will persecute rafters returning to Cuba.

This Herald telephone survey asked 485 Dade County adults whether they agree, agree strongly, disagree or disagree strongly with the following 26 statements. The figures here show what percentage of respondents from each of Dade's major ethnic groups said they agree or agree strongly with the statement.



HOW THIS POLL WAS DONE

This poll, conducted for The Herald by the Prange & O'Hearn Marketing and Research Group of Miami, is based on telephone interviews completed Saturday and Sunday, May 13-14, with 485 adult Dade County residents. Respondents' telephone numbers were selected randomly using a technique called random-digit dialing. The interviews were done in English or Spanish, depending on each respondent's preference.

Because the poll was designed to examine differences in opinion among Dade's major ethnic groups, the overall sample doesn't reflect Dade demographics, but rather target samples for each group. Interviewers talked with 92 non-Hispanic

white respondents, for a sampling error margin of plus or minus 10.2 percentage points; 44 non-Hispanic black respondents (plus or minus 14.1 points); 100 non-Cuban Hispanics (plus or minus 9.8 points); and 249 Cubans (plus or minus 6.2 points).

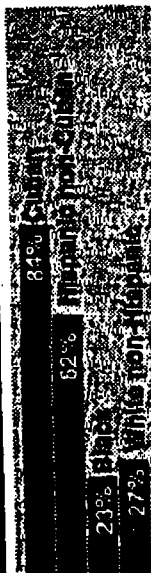
The sampling error margin means, for instance, that if all Dade County Cubans could be asked a particular question, there is a 95 percent chance that the actual results would be within 6.2 points of the answers given on this survey. Other sources of error, such as in the wording of questions, are possible, but cannot be quantified.

—STEPHEN K. DOIG

The Cuban-American protesters who blocked traffic were treated better by police than African-American protesters would have been treated.



Cuban rafters who are returning to the United States are being treated better by the Cuban government.



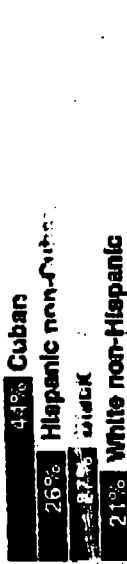
President Clinton made the right decision to end the Guantanamo crisis and stop future waves of rafters.



Cuban-Americans have a right to oppose the separation of Cuban children.



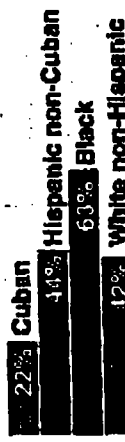
President Clinton should have consulted with Jorge Mas Canosa before deciding to send Cuban rafters back to Cuba.



Cuban people who want to stay in the United States should stay and resist Castro rather than leave their country.



The United States should establish normal diplomatic relations with Cuba.



The U.S. should punish a military invasion of Cuba in order to restore democratic rule.



Illegal immigrants are responsible for a significant amount of overcrowding in Miami's public housing.



President Clinton should not allow in another 20,000 Cuban exiles from Guantanamo.



Haitians at Navy base ask: Why are we here?

M.H. 5-15-95 HAITI

RACHEL L. SWARNS
Lead Staff Writer

U.S. NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba — As the ragged boat neared apart midway through its journey to America, a 17-year-old disabled girl found solace in the memory of her father's face.

She lived across the ocean, far from her father's grave and her home in Haiti, in a place with big hospitals and doctors who could make her walk straight.

■ IN SEARCH OF DAD, 8A
■ DISABLED GIRL IS TAUNTED, 8A

When she saw the U.S. Coast Guard cutter steaming toward the leaky boat, she rejoiced. "I knew they were taking me to my father in Miami."

Eleven months later, she hides in a green army tent in the detention camp for unaccompanied Haitian rafter children here. She never made it to Miami. She never got

the operation she needed. The other children taunt her until she limps to her tent in tears.

"Eleven months of sadness," says Marie-Carol Celestin, whose father begged military officials to release her from his care. "Why am I still here?"

As jubilant Cuban rafters abandon sweltering camps here for new homes in

PLEASE SEE HAITIANS,

HAITIANS, FROM 1A

United States, Celestin's question reverberates among the 229 Haitian children held in Camp 9. Her story illustrates the frustrations of the minors, who risked their lives trying to reach the United States, only to be detained here for nearly a year with little hope of attaining their dream.

The U.S. argument

The U.S. government says the children must return to Haiti, where democracy has been restored. About 60 have already gone home. Rumors swirling among refugee resettlement agencies hint at an imminent policy change and the possibility that the children may be paroled into the United States. But so far, nothing concrete has materialized. And tension in the camp is rising.

Last week, dozens of children pelted soldiers with rocks and oranges and set tents on fire, protesting the new U.S. policy that admits only Cuban rafters here into the United States.

The disturbances captured the national spotlight. But until then, the children were virtually invisible, held incommunicado from reporters and photographers by military officials for months. In their first interviews with The Herald last week, they described their risky voyages from Haiti, their daily frustrations and their fears of going home.

They fled Haiti during the summer of 1994, when military dictators ruled the country and ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide lived in exile. Some parents, fearing persecution, put their sons and daughters on rickety boats. Other children fled when their relatives were killed. Others hoped to escape poverty. When the boats lurched to sea, they jumped on board.

But instead of reaching the United States, they ended up in Guantanamo, a desolate camp filled with rows and rows of green burlap tents, surrounded by metal fences topped with barbed wire. And as the months pass and blistering day melts



MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

FACE OF FRUSTRATION: A young Haitian girl spends her days in Camp McCalla #9, a camp for unaccompanied minors.

into blistering day, the frustration rises.

One girl cries for days after her best friend is sent back to Haiti. Another boy takes three showers daily, trying to take the edge off the burning heat. And thunder clouds send the chil-

dren scurrying for plastic bags that never quite manage to keep the rain from soaking their cots and clothes.

For entertainment, the children sing in Creole, braid hair, or play marbles in the dust, with balls popped out of roll-on deo-

dorant bottles. On bad days, they fight. They set fires. Or they refuse to go to school.

Last year, the United States admitted all unaccompanied Cuban rafter children. Two weeks ago, the U.S. government announced that nearly all the remaining 21,000 Cuban rafters would be admitted.

Growing bitter

As the Cubans rejoiced, the Haitians grew bitter. Why, they wondered, didn't they receive a blanket welcome to the United States?

"It hurts us very much," said a 17-year-old girl, whose father lives in the United States. She could not be identified without her parents' permission. "The Cubans found us here. But the Cubans are leaving and we're still here."

The U.S. government says the decision is consistent with long-practiced U.S. refugee policy: Haitians can return to a democracy, while Cubans cannot.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which handles the resettlement

of the Haitian children, says only children without parents or principle caretakers in Haiti, and children facing the threat of political violence in Haiti end up in the United States. Twenty-three children have been paroled so far.

"It's not a simple matter that life is better for kids in the United States," said Michael Troje, the U.N. refugee expert who is tracing relatives in Haiti. "Their emotional health is better in their own country."

But that argument carries little weight with the children. Last week, after the United States announced the Cubans would be leaving, they refused to attend school. They started a hunger strike. And on huge white sheets, hung from the fences, they voiced their outrage in blue magic marker.

To them, the reason for the disparity in treatment was painfully clear.

"Because we are black," the sign read. "We have not the same blood."

"In front of God, everybody is the same thing."

Reboredo's D.C. trip was paid by taxpayers; 'I am not ashamed'



Reboredo

M.H.S-13-95 Comm. Reboredo
By DEXTER FILKINS
Herald Staff Writer

Metro Commissioner Pedro Reboredo's highly publicized arrest at the White House steps earlier this week has a footnote: Taxpayers paid for the trip.

Reboredo billed his \$486 round-trip flight to Washington to Metro government. He plans to submit the rest of his expenses — about \$250 on hotel, dinner and taxis.

Reboredo and U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart were arrested outside the White House Tuesday when they protested Clinton's Cuba policy.

Reboredo said he happened to be in Washington on county business when he learned of Diaz-Balart's plans.

"May I go with you?" Reboredo asked.

The two were arrested in the afternoon and released in the afternoon. Reboredo flew home that night, met reporters at the airport and called a press conference the next day.

Reboredo said the arrest prevented him from accomplishing much of his official business. He said he went to Washington to lobby for more immigration staffing at Miami International Airport.

He didn't have any appointments with INS or other officials, he said.

Reboredo said he doesn't have any regrets about his action.

"If I put in 60 hours a week [as a commissioner], and while doing it I get involved in a personal thing, so be it. I am not ashamed."

Try *this* for a lose-lose

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

If you held a contest for bad ideas, you couldn't top the planned work stoppage across Greater Miami tomorrow to protest the change in U.S. policy toward Cuban immigrants. The organizers' avowed aim is to "shut down Miami," as if this were some Third World backwater.

This effort is wrong by every measure of wrong. It targets the wrong people in the wrong place by the wrong method. It will bring its sponsors not community sympathy but more community division. Unless there is trouble, which would be tragic, this work stoppage will be barely noticed, and less noted, by those to whom it should be addressed: the policymakers in Washington, D.C.

Oh, not to worry, it'll surely be noticed by that fiendish policymaker in Havana: Fidel Castro. He may tip over his La-Z-Despot lounge chair in paroxysms of laughter at how the people whom he has hurt so much hurt only themselves and their community in a misguided tactic aimed in part at him.

Yes, Castro couldn't be happier. This effort to "shut down Miami" costs him zero, hurts him not at all. Fact is, it may benefit him further by (as it has) increasing Miamians' internal frustrations. While Castro busts a gut laughing, what's the effect on us here? For starters:

■ Businesses (especially in Cuban Miami) will forgo all or part of a day's

WORK-STOP PROTEST

Castro himself couldn't have devised a scheme more harmful — *to us only* — than tomorrow's Miami work stoppage.

income. For mom-and-pop operations, that's a severe price for a mere feckless gesture.

■ Employees will forfeit untold pay or vacation time if they feel compelled to show solidarity by not working. We respect deeply those who, for reasons

of conscience, will sacrifice. What a pity though, that their sacrifice won't have a beneficial impact in Washington or Havana! The only impact — *adverse* — will be here, on them, on all of us.

■ We stand the real chance of making this city of the future, this city that seeks to be this hemisphere's 21st Century capital, simply look foolish in Washington (where the real policy power is) and, indeed, to much of South Florida.

■ Public sentiment was 63 percent more negative vs. only 17 percent more positive toward the Cuban community's cause after protesters last week created major traffic jams by blocking arterial roads. If the goal is to drive that disfavor further toward 100 percent, this work stoppage is an ideal 16-wheeler.

This protest is a lose-lose. It won't help the rafters. It won't help their sympathizers. It won't help the Cuban community's sympathy among Greater Miami's other communities.

Whom might it help, then? By our measure, only one person: the in-Fidel in Havana. The ever-wily Castro couldn't have wished for a better outcome had he planned it himself.

Opposition yes . . . protests no

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

Many Cuban Americans in New Jersey question Miami methods

By MICHAEL WARREN
Special to The Herald

UNION CITY, N.J. — Many of the Cubans here don't like the idea of *balseros* being forcibly returned to Cuba, but they don't plan to demonstrate against President Clinton's policy turnabout either.

"It's not going to work. It's not going to resolve anything," said Fernando Albar during a lively streetside debate this weekend. Unlike Cubans in Miami, people here have little appetite for carrying signs or blocking traffic.

"We talk too much. That's why Castro's still in Cuba," joked Albar, 42, a pantyhose distributor who has lived in Union City since the Mariel boatlift.

Outside the Pathmark store, none of the shoppers had heard of any demonstrations, much less planned to take part in one.

"Making demonstrations with the Cuban flag is a mistake," said Ydelfo Medina. "If a country welcomes you with open arms, you shouldn't demonstrate against its policies."

Medina, 45, has lived in New Jersey for 30 years. Like many who once made Union City one of the largest Cuban communities outside Florida, she has moved to the suburbs. She still comes here to shop and see friends, but on Bergenline Avenue, the stores are being taken over by Colombians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The sense of community isn't as strong, and people have other priorities.

"In Miami, everybody lives for politics," Medina said. "We're more integrated with Americans. We're not involved in that mess of knocking down Castro."

'We're too busy'

Jose and Mabel Porta might have reason to demonstrate. A year ago last week, they fled Cuba with their two daughters in a small boat, and were taken to the United States by the Coast Guard. But protest? They're worried more about finding health insurance and getting off welfare.

"Here, people have talked

about it, but I haven't heard of any demonstrations. And if there were, we wouldn't have joined it anyway," Porta said. "We're trying to find work. We're too busy to join in any parade."

Outside the Dairy Queen on Park Avenue, Sabrina Perez, 14, giggled when asked how people feel about Clinton's policy. It's not something she and her Cuban-American friends worry about. Her father and uncles are angry, but so far it's just talk, she said.

"They talk about it a lot, but nobody's getting up and carrying signs," she said. "I think they all have it in them. They just need a leader. If someone went around and said there's going to be a big protest, they'd go."

Union City is a working-class, mostly Latin suburb on a ridge overlooking the Hudson River and Manhattan. It straddles Interstate 495. If Cubans here wanted to stage a protest similar to the attempted blockade of the Port of Miami, the entrance to the Lincoln Tunnel is just a short walk down the hill.

But such a move would surely backfire, said Jose Diaz, a construction worker who arrived from Cuba about 1½ years ago.

"You don't gain anything" by causing trouble for non-Cubans, Diaz said. "Look, my family has been here 20 years. They know the reality, how things are."

In the Union City Cafeteria on Saturday, waiters rushed around with plates of Cuban food while a lone member of the anti-Castro group Alpha 66 plotted strategy in a booth in the back. At the bar, Orestes Alvarez, a retired hotel bartender, and Omar Jorin, a factory manager, ordered beers and held forth about the Cubans in Miami, where Alvarez, 55, plans to move next month.

"It's stupid to demonstrate," said Alvarez, criticizing the traffic stoppage that slowed an ambulance to the hospital. "What I say, I'm not afraid to say: It's stupid. It's all politics."

"I remember 1980. Fidel sent beautiful people; he sent delin-

quents, too," Alvarez said. "It's not fair to bring 20,000 people you don't know from Cuba. They're going to put these people on the street — who's going to support them?"

'A different country'

Jorin, who arrived in this country during Mariel, agreed with his friend.

"This is a different country. You're supposed to respect the place where you are," said Jorin, 42. "Don't come over here to make trouble. All those demonstrations, they should have done it to Fidel."

Silverio Rodriguez heard that a reporter was at the bar and took a seat, pulling out a card that identified him as coordinator general of Alpha 66, Delegacion del Norte.

Rodriguez hopes for a big crowd May 21 at a rally along Bergenline Avenue, when Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and [Alpha 66 leader] Diego Medina are expected to come up from Miami.

Alpha 66 can count Orlando Trespalcacios out, even though he's waiting to be reunited with a brother in the camps at Guantánamo Bay whom he hasn't seen in 35 years.

"I don't support these demonstrations," said Trespalcacio, who

runs his own restaurant supply business. The deficit is already too high — this country can't provide for all the people who want to come here."

Bergenline Road is a long way from Calle Ocho, let alone Havana, and keeping younger generations interested in Cuba is difficult.

"You have to feel it here," Rodriguez explained, thumping his chest. "My own daughters, sometimes they say 'Papa, it's too much.' This generation, they say it's not right" to protest.

But Rodriguez is sure young people will attend Sunday's rally. Two anyway.

"Young people will show up. Yes!" Rodriguez said. "I'll call my own daughters. They'll go. I'll order them to do it and then hang up the phone. They'll go."

The containment of Castro

M.H.C. 5-14-95 CUBA

Robert Scheer, a contributing editor of *The Los Angeles Times*, wrote this article for *The Times*.

By ROBERT SCHEER

Thank God for Fidel Castro. And for Jesse Helms, who, if he had his way, would make smoking a Cuban cigar a capital offense. Helms' bill to tighten the embargo on trade with Cuba has been condemned by Canada and the European Union, but what do they know of Castro's unique place in the American political psyche? We would be lost without him.

Who would have thought it would come to this: The Caribbean mouse that roared is all that's left of our global crusade against communism. At a time when the Vietnam War is recognized as a "terrible mistake," and the Chinese communists represent the world's fastest-growing capitalist economy and the former Soviet Reds are on our welfare rolls, it's reassuring to have Castro to contain.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J. Only 90 miles from our shores are beaches, cigars, music and women so alluring that hundreds of thousands of Germans, Spaniards and Canadians are, even as we speak, risking their democratic souls and the opprobrium of the U.S. government to vacation there.

If Republicans think Hollywood is a threat to family values, they must shudder at the return of the Havana of old. In 1960, on the eve of the embargo, I caught one of the last flights out evacuating conventioners from Cuba to Key West, and let me tell you, getting them on the plane was a close call. One more round of rum and Cokes and they would have been lost to communism for the next 35 years.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J.

Then there's the democracy question. Castro is a dictator, and if he hadn't been isolated, we'd have other nondemocratic governments in the hemisphere. Just look at Guatemala, which inspired our Cuba policy. Back in 1950, nine years before Castro's revolution, Jacobo Arbenz was elected president of Guatemala. Some election — the wrong guy won. Arbenz had barely settled in when he started making moves on the United Fruit Co., talking about giving land to the peasants and other red stuff. Well, the CIA ousted him, and Guatemala was saved for the free world.

I know, the U.S.-trained Guatemalan military was recently blamed for killing a U.S. citizen who owned a hotel in the rain forest there, but that's a small price to pay for our national security. Nor does it matter that the accused killer, a colonel named Julio Alpirez, was a CIA operative. Who else can provide reliable inside information on the Guatemalan government?

True, Castro also killed, and he definitely had useful inside information, but that wasn't enough to qualify him as a U.S. ally. Castro had his chance: we tried working with him during his student revolutionary days, but when he got in power, he turned around and nationalized one of our nickel companies. We saw then that he had "commie" written all over him, and the final proof came when he turned to the Soviets for economic aid

after the U.S. government cut his access to trade with the West.

We tried to get rid of Castro with the Bay of Pigs invasion, but that failed when the people in Cuba didn't rise up as expected. Then we tried democracy through assassination. Just how hard we tried was documented in a CIA report, declassified two years ago, which detailed how the agency supplied the Mafia with money, explosives, infected saccharine pills and poisoned cigars. Strong believers in the free market, the Mafia shared the U.S. government's antipathy to Castro, who had nationalized their casinos, but the mob's hit men kept losing their nerve at the last minute.

Another U.S.-sponsored invasion was in the works when Castro got the Soviets to put some missiles in, and the world almost came to an end. But cooler heads prevailed and a deal was struck in which the United States agreed to stop trying to invade Cuba and instead continue a policy of economic strangulation and subversion. And the Soviets took their missiles home.

A somewhat muddled policy, you might say, but be fair: Bob McNamara was in charge. As he said in a 1987 interview reflecting back on the Cuban Missile Crisis: "What in the hell does the president of the Ford Motor Co., which I was, know about the issue? I'll tell you what this automobile executive knew: Zero! Nothing! I knew it too. I felt in my heart that my appointment as secretary of defense was wrong."

No argument here. But in this season of mea culpas, maybe we should shift tactics and follow the example of our China policy: Try invading Cuba with salesmen instead. Once inundated with credit cards, VCRs and Coca-Cola, communism doesn't stand a chance. And will the last sailor out of Guantanamo please turn out the lights.

24 Cubans found in stalled speedboat

Feds questioning
2 exiles on board

M.H. 5-15-95
By DAVID HANCOCK *WPA*
Herald Staff Writer

Two Cuban Americans were in federal custody Sunday on suspicion of having piloted a boat from South Florida to Cuba to pick up 24 Cubans on the island, including a young woman who apparently died during the trip.

At about 8:30 a.m. Sunday, a Coast Guard helicopter sighted an emergency flare fired from a crowded, 30-foot Scarab speedboat stalled south of Key West.

"The powerboat was dead in the water and we diverted two cutters to the scene," said Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt.

When the cutters arrived, Coast Guardsmen found a 22-year-old dead woman on board. In addition, the group included 11 men, eight women, one girl and three boys.

The 23 Cubans were transferred to one of the cutters, where they remained at sea Sunday night. They will likely be interviewed by a U.S. immigration officer about possible asylum claims.

"They'll remain at sea until there is a determination of what to do with them," Waldschmidt said.

If asylum is not granted, they will probably be repatriated to Cuba, just like 24 other rafters who were returned last week.

"That is U.S. policy at this time," Waldschmidt said.

The Coast Guard brought the two Cuban-American men and the dead woman to shore at Key West. The woman, whose identity was not known, was turned over to the Monroe County medical examiner's office, which will determine the cause of death.

U.S. Attorney Kendall Coffey of Miami identified the men as Abel Eugenio Fuentes-Miranda, 21, and Jorge Niner, no age available. They are both believed to be from Dade, Coffey said.

Both men were in the custody of federal immigration agents, who were questioning them

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 6A

CUBANS, FROM 1A

about possible involvement in immigrant smuggling.

"The facts and the law will be examined and if proveable violations of federal law can be established, a prosecution will be pursued," Coffey said.

Coffey said the 30-foot powerboat was registered to Everardo Nodarse of Hialeah.

Contacted Sunday night by The Herald, Nodarse said he was unaware the boat had been intercepted by the Coast Guard. He said he kept the 30-foot Scarab at a friend's house in Kendall.

Nodarse then called the friend, Juan Carlos Rodriguez, who said he had loaned the boat to the two men for a date Saturday night. Rodriguez said the two men, Fuentes-Miranda and Niner, were rafters who came to South Florida two or three years ago.

Both Rodriguez and Nodarse said they were unaware of any plans by the two young men to make a trip to Cuba. Nodarse said the 1994 powerboat is valued at about \$50,000.

Archbishop's letter

Meanwhile, Miami Archbishop John C. Favalora wrote a letter, read at Masses Sunday throughout the archdiocese, commenting about last week's tumultuous events, which include traffic blockades and other protest by Cuban

Americans angered over the new U.S. policy of returning Cuban boat people to Cuba.

"Recent developments regarding the Cuban refugees have brought mixed emotions to our community. We rejoice over the news of the release of the refugees in Guantanamo and, with our Cuban brothers and sisters, we are pained by the United States government's decision to repatriate new-found rafters," the letter said.

"Equally painful is the tension these times bring to the entire community. These are times when emotions run high and hearts are heavy. I appeal to everyone in the archdiocese to bring these current turn of events to the Lord for healing and understanding. This is a time for everyone in the community to pray for prudence, patience and an ever spirit."

Exile groups protesting the new U.S. policy have called for a general work strike on Tuesday, urging Cuban Americans and anyone else to boycott work as a show of solidarity with the Cuban rafters.

Vigils throughout Dade

Sunday, however, was a peaceful day of protest, with several vigils held throughout the county. At night, dozens of Cuban Americans gathered at La Ermita de la Caridad, the shrine to

Cuba's patron saint in Coconut Grove, to pray for those on the island and for a change in the new policy of repatriating rafters.

"It's terrible what is happening. I never would have believed that the United States would do this," said Francisco Gonzalez, 67, who came from

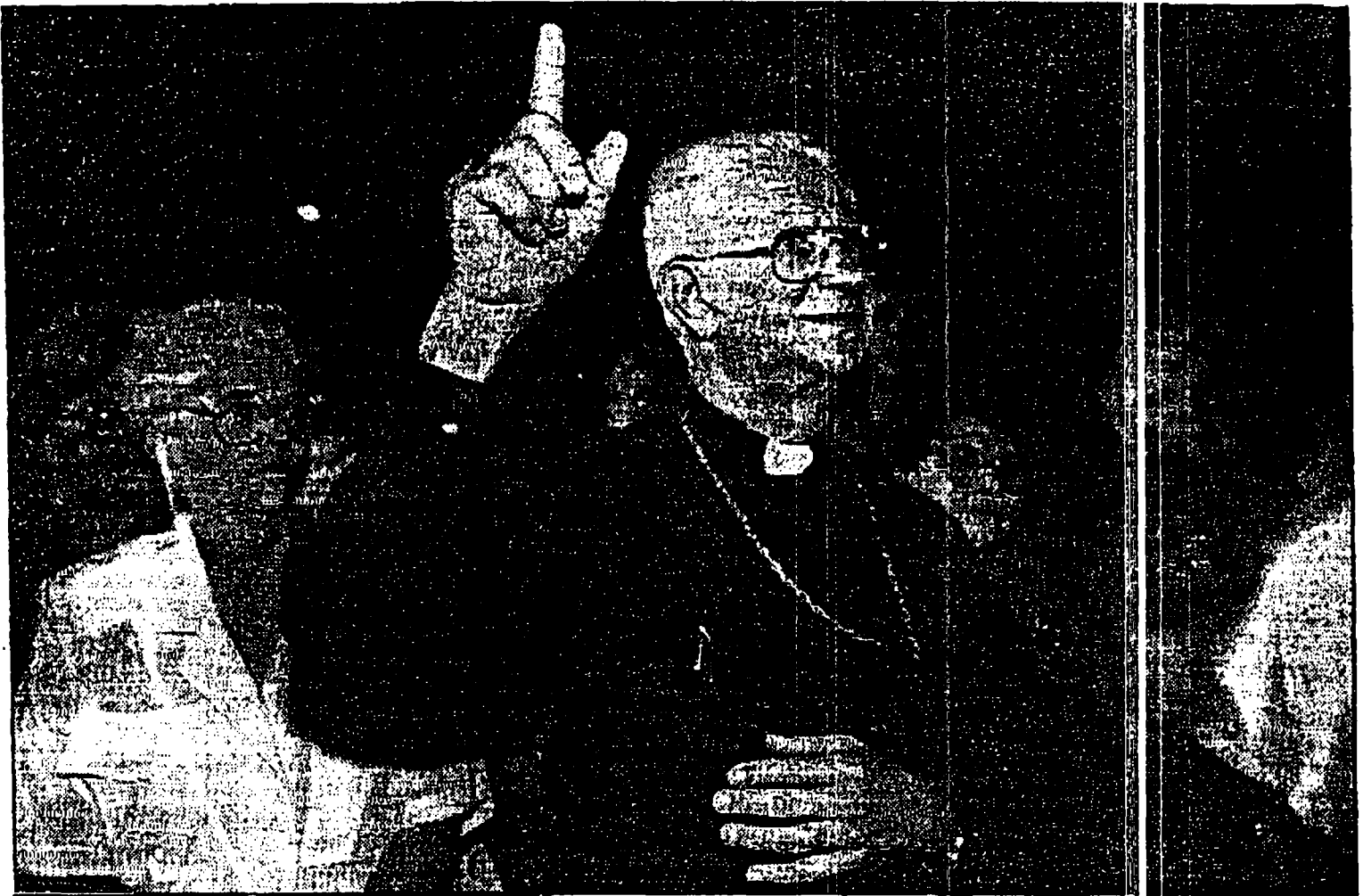
Cuba 28 years ago. "When someone leaves a communist country, they never look back. Get rid of Castro, not the poor people who are fleeing communism."

As a full moon glistened on the waters of Biscayne Bay, Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman led the group in praying for

compassion.

"We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others," said Roman. "And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro."

Herald staff writer John Lantigua contributed to this report.



DAVID BERGMAN / Herald Staff

COCONUT GROVE VIGIL: 'We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others,' said

Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman Sunday night. 'And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro.'

Coast Guard is focus of ambivalent rally

By ANA MENENDEZ
Herald Staff Writer

Under perfect blue skies, about 100 Cuban Americans stood outside Miami Beach's Coast Guard station Saturday in a demonstration that seemed torn between giving thanks and demanding change.

"We've heard many wonderful stories of the heroism of the Coast Guard in saving Cuban lives," said Isaura Pino, dressed in black. "But we're sad their roles changed and we want them to feel solidarity with us."

Many demonstrators held signs protesting the repatriation policy. Some wore new, creased T-shirts showing President Bill Clinton and Fidel Castro lounging together, smoking cigars.

"Clinton is a communist," Ernesto Corvo said, echoing the words on his T-shirt. "He's had too many talks with Castro."

By the MacArthur Causeway, Richard Maura, 20, stood waving a huge Cuban flag.

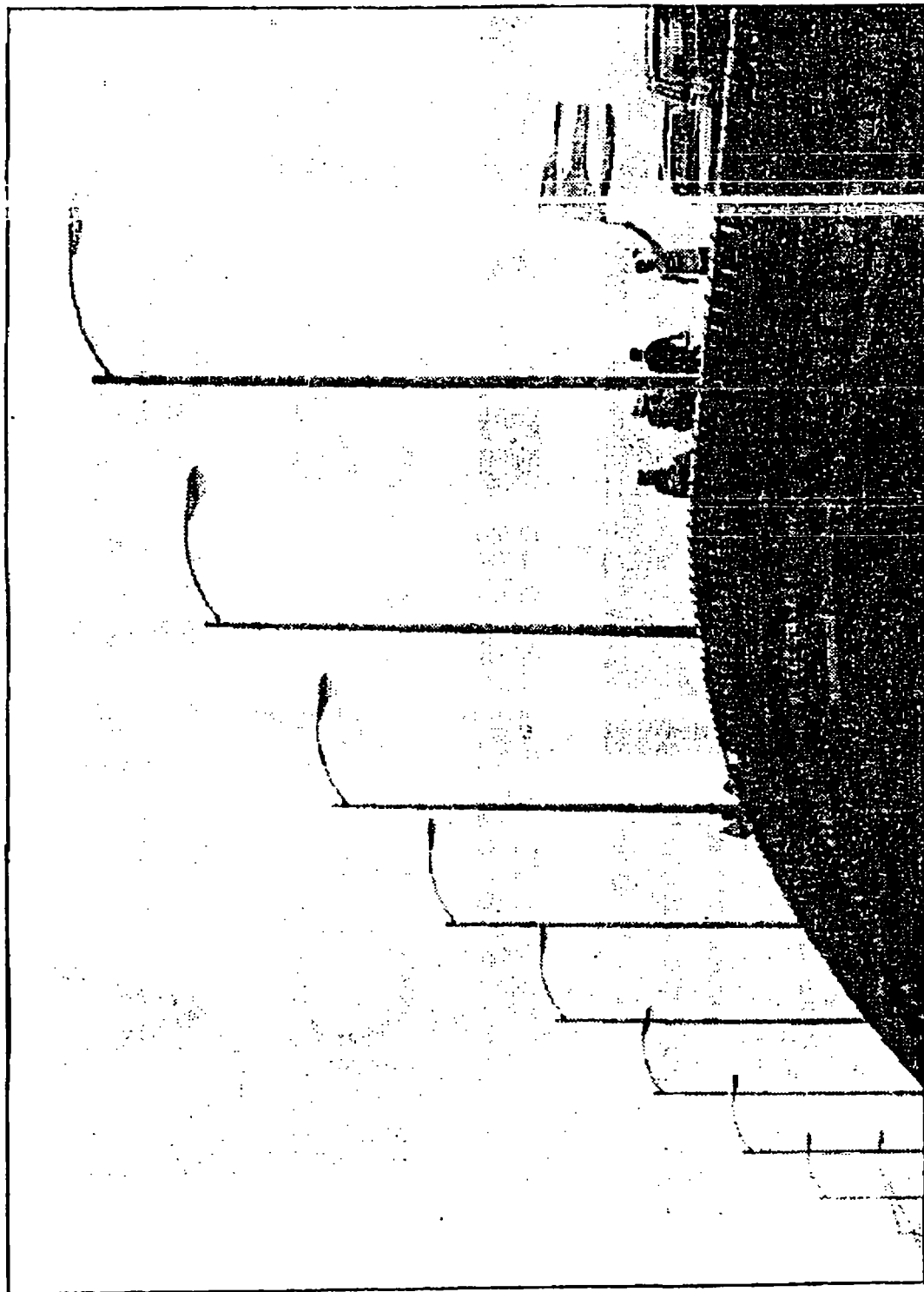
"I want Cuba to be free for my parents," he said. "They've done so much for me, I'm doing this for them."

Many drivers beeped car horns. A red BMW drove by with anti-Clinton slogans painted on the windshield. Other motorists shouted: "Go back to Cuba!"

At times, media and police seemed to outnumber the demonstrators, who came to life under the cameras.

"Thank you! Thank you!" demonstrators shouted at men wearing Coast Guard uniforms.

"We appreciate it," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said.



MUJI / ALBONA / Herald Staff

SEEKING POLICY REVERSAL: Protesting Cuban Americans say they're sad that the Coast Guard's mission has changed.

Don't take unity out of community

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Amidst a discussion with a co-worker regarding the new U.S. policy toward Cuban rafters, I found myself getting mad. I mean really angry. I had to end the conversation and leave the room before a peaceful discussion became an argument.

As I walked away I examined my reaction. Why, exactly, was I angry? I am a white woman in my middle 30s with three small children who attend public school. I am married to a Cuban. My long-time boss, for whom I have the utmost respect, is a Cuban. I am an active advocate for the less fortunate, and I've taught my children to look past color or creed to the human underneath. Still, suddenly I find myself in the position of being the despised *them* in the game of *us* against *them* that many Cubans are determined to promote.

I grew up in a black neighborhood in Los Angeles where I was hated for the color of my skin. I married in California and moved to Hialeah. I did not find the Cuban community any more open to me than the black community had been. I was the enemy, a threat to the purity of their cultural heritage, I was told. Cubans should marry Cubans, etc. Regardless of my personal beliefs, regardless of who I was, I could never truly be a part simply because of my race.

I know about discrimination — hate, ignorance, and racial and cultural disharmony. But through it all I have clung to the values my parents fought hard to instill in me. We are one people. We all hurt, laugh, cry, and bleed the same way. Why do we fight so hard to deny this?

I would like to see the Cuban community make more of an effort to enlist the help of people outside of their own culture in this fight. I would like them to drop the assumption that we are all against them, and believe us innocent until proven guilty of ignorance and hardness of heart. I would like to read less about how poorly the Cuban community has been treated and more about how we can all come together to reach a common goal.

Americans, on the whole, deplore dictators. We will fight for human rights if given the chance. But when we are accosted on the street by angry mobs, blocked from reaching our children as schools close, lumped together as adversaries regardless of our true thoughts, we *become* adversaries to the very cause that we might have joined.

I would ask that all of us see beyond our pride and open our hearts to the neighbors we've lived with, many of us, for nearly all of our lives. Give people a chance. You might be surprised.

VIRGINIA ESTAPE
Pembroke Pines



We are not the enemy

I congratulate Janet Reno and Bill Clinton's administration for *finally* forming a sensible policy on Cuban rafters. Why do the Cubans continue to risk their and their children's lives by setting out in shark infested waters on rickety rafts?

The Clinton administration and the U.S. attorney general are not their enemies, Castro is.

JACK BOLING
Miami

Not their place to speak out

The Cubans are telling our government and our president how to run our immigration laws, but many of them are not even U.S. citizens. Something's wrong with this picture!!

MARIE MAXSON
Pompano Beach

Meaning of freedom

America was built by the strength of the immigrants. From the western railroads to the big city skyscrapers, we have come a long way.

May God bless the man who strives to be free, for it is he who knows the true meaning of freedom.

GENEVIEVE ROMAN
North Miami

How about a 'thank you'?

It would help if Cubans would say thank you to President Clinton and the American people for permitting Cubans to immigrate here. Presidents and Americans have given them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

A simple, sincere *thank you* would be nice.

NANCY WOERNER
Plantation

Prove persecution

If Cubans want to resolve the refugee problem, let them accept that U.S. laws must be upheld. To be allowed entry into the United States, persons fleeing Cuba must provide irrefutable proof that they would be persecuted if sent back.

I doubt that many in Guantanamo, and many already here, could pass that test. Most are economic refugees fleeing a bankrupt regime.

JOHN DELLA
Miami

The unchangeables

I like living in Miami because it's so close to the United States. However, I would like to know why this country has had a 30-year open-door policy for Cubans.

It's not because of communism; otherwise we'd have Little Vietnam, Little China, and Little Russia blooming on Eighth Street. And if it is out of guilt for the Bay of Pigs, after 30 years we've long paid our dues.

A. TARIEL
Miami

'I am sick and tired'

I am sick and tired of the Cuban problem; we cannot live in peace. It's Castro who dictates U.S. foreign policy. Whenever he feels like it, he dumps thousands of refugees here.

I am sick and tired of this, and I applaud Jorge Mas Canosa for refusing to continue to pay for this. Let Mr. Clinton and Janet Reno take care of these refugees' expenses.

MARIA E. SANCHEZ
Miami

No blind faith for Cuba

M. H. 5-13-95 CUBA

The so-called Tarnoff-Alarcon immigration accord between Cuba and the United States is being put to the test before the ink on it dries. On Tuesday the U.S. Coast Guard returned the first 13 rafters to Cuba.

The agreement made public on May 2 commits the Cuban regime, a notorious human rights violator, to a civilized standard of conduct toward Cuban "returnees." According to Attorney General Janet Reno, Fidel Castro's government assured the United States that "no one will suffer reprisals, lose benefits, or be prejudiced in any manner, either because he or she sought to depart irregularly or because he or she has applied for refugee status at the U.S. Interests Section" in Havana.

Until May 2, the United States had reason to assume that rafters returned to Cuba would automatically suffer political persecution. Over the years, the Cuban regime has jailed thousands found guilty of "illegal departure," an offense that's still a crime in Cuba.

However, under the terms first of the September 1994 U.S.-Cuban immigration agreement and now of the May 2 accord, the Cuban government pledged to stop persecuting people caught trying to "depart via irregular means." That generally means rafters and boat people.

The immigration pact's critics and other skeptics justifiably have questioned the Cuban government's readiness to live up to its commitments. Havana has often agreed "in principle" to things that it had not the slightest intention of carrying out in practice. Indeed, some of the first "returnees" contend that Castro's repressive appara-

ON IMMIGRATION ACCORD

The United States must monitor the situation of repatriated rafters closely. Otherwise, the immigration pact could be in trouble.

tus already is violating the spirit of the immigration agreements. Some of the 11 returnees told Herald reporter Armando Correa and U.S. Interests Section officials that they had suffered "harassment" at the hands of Cuban police. But U.S. diplomats visiting the returnees'

homes in the provincial capital of Camaguey assert that they saw no evidence of harassment.

Still, both supporters and detractors of the accord must ask themselves what fate awaits the returnees when U.S. Interests Section officers are not around to monitor Cuban authorities' behavior. Moreover, the number of returnees could swell. Hence the U.S. staff must be large enough to monitor the treatment of repatriated Cubans and to process their visa applications.

The May 2 agreement commits the United States to this — and to "examining" the asylum claims of rafters "before return." Returnees also have the right to apply for refugee status at the Interests Section in Havana. They can't jump to the front of the queue, however, and they'll have to meet the same tests as other applicants.

Either way, "harassment" by itself does not constitute grounds for granting refugee status to anyone. Yet U.S. diplomats should not be predisposed to reject asylum claims, as they were in Haiti, where Washington was reminded that smooth-talking representatives of dictatorships cannot be taken at their word. Washington's failure to monitor the situation of Cuban returnees would expose repatriated rafters to possible Cuban government reprisals and imperil the immigration agreement.

J.S., Cuban generals talk at Guantanamo;

1 rafters returned

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

RESIGNATION MAY SLOW CUBAN REFORM, 10A
HAITI NATIVE AIDS GUANTANAMO KIDS, 10

BY DON BOHNING
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

A U.S. general and his Cuban counterpart met this week at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo Bay to discuss the possible repatriation by land of some of the 21,000 Cuban rafters held at the base. U.S. officials said Friday.

Confirmation of the meeting came as 11 rafters, including a pregnant woman, were returned to Cuba without incident aboard a U.S. Coast Guard cutter. It was the second such repatriation this week, an operation that U.S. officials described as quickly becoming routine.

U.S. officials said the meeting between a Cuban general and U.S. Air Force Brig. Gen. John Allen, head of the military joint task force in charge of the

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 10A

CUBANS, FROM 1A

refugee program at Guantanamo, took place Tuesday in a tent just inside the U.S. naval base.

They discussed the repatriation by land of those Cubans at Guantanamo not expected to be given migrant visas to the United States under the new U.S. policy adopted last week by the Clinton administration, the officials confirmed.

While most of the 21,000 Cubans held at the base since last summer's rafter crisis are expected to receive U.S. visas, the new policy would repatriate some of those with criminal records, mental problems or a record of violence against their U.S. guards.

"The [Guantanamo] meeting went extremely well," said a U.S. official. "The Cubans were obviously well prepared, ready to make some decisions and very amenable for returns through the northeast gate."

Of the Cuban rafters returned Friday in the second such repatriation since the Clinton administration shifted policy on May 2, nine were rescued by the Coast Guard Wednesday from a sinking boat north of Cuba. The next

day the same cutter intercepted two more rafters.

Friday's repatriation at the port of Cabañas west of Havana was a replay of the return Tuesday of 13 Cubans who had been rescued off the island's south coast by a Miami-based cruise ship and turned over to the Coast Guard.

First off the cutter Friday after it docked were the pregnant woman and her boyfriend, according to U.S. officials. Accompanied by a doctor, they were taken by ambulance to an immigration processing center on the outskirts of Havana.

Richard Nuccio, a senior State Department official involved in Cuban affairs, said only one of the 11 rafters made a claim for political asylum strong enough to merit special treatment — presumably during an onboard interview with U.S. immigration agents.

Nuccio said, however, that "further review determined that the person did not have a credible fear of return and was returned Friday" along with the other 10 refugees.

U.S. officials said the 11 returnees met with a U.S. immigration officer aboard the cutter

and "he determined ... that there were no fears which would preclude them pursuing whatever avenues they might wish" to apply for regular U.S. visas in Havana.

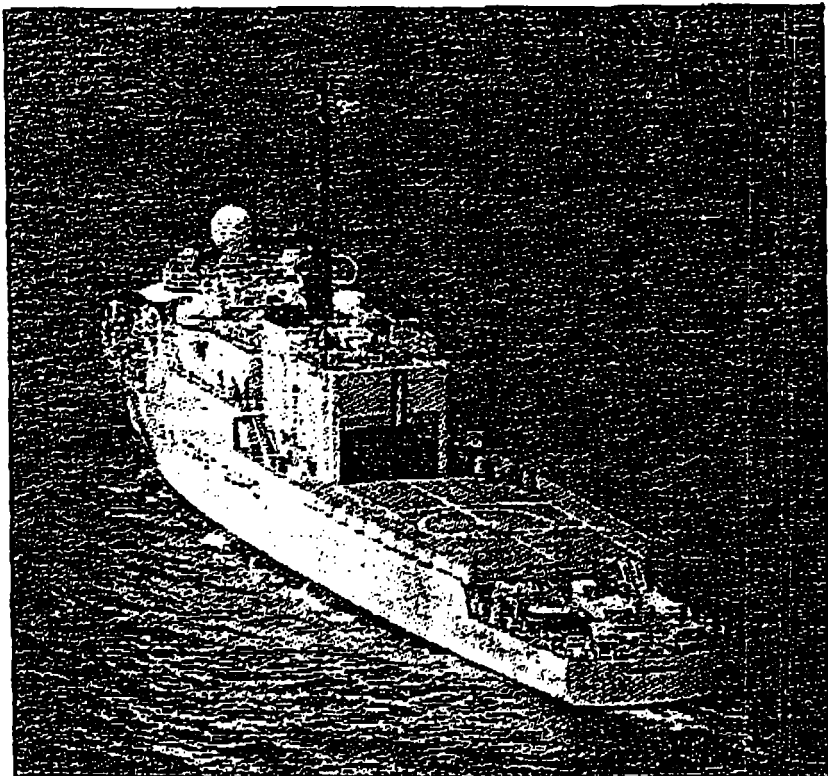
The cutter docked at Cabañas at 11:42 a.m. Friday and departed 45 minutes later, according to Petty Officer Steve Aitkins, a Coast Guard spokesman in Miami. It was met by a handful of journalists and representatives from the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba.

As with the 13 returned on Tuesday, the 11 repatriated Friday were taken to Havana for processing. They were scheduled to leave for their homes — in several cities around central Cuba — later in the day.

"Everything went fine, said a Havana-based diplomat. "The returnees were cooperative. The discussions were brief."

Unlike the 13 repatriated Tuesday who were outfitted in clothes obtained from the cruise ship, the 11 returned Friday were described as raggedly dried and "weather worn." Some had been at sea since April 9, according to U.S. officials.

In Washington, Acting Sec



Associated Press

ENTERING CUBAN WATERS: The U.S. Coast Guard cutter Mohawk arrives north of Bahía de Cabañas Friday.

Department spokesman David Johnson said U.S. diplomats in Cuba will visit the latest return-

ees "as soon as possible, and an officer may be dispatched as early as today [Friday] to their

hometown for this express purpose."

Johnson added that two other officers from the U.S. Interests Section in Havana had met in Camaguey with 12 of the 43 Cubans returned Tuesday and expected to meet with the last one on Friday.

"They've enjoyed full access to them. The migrants have been able to freely meet as a group among themselves and have been able to meet both individually and as a group with U.S. officers," Johnson said.

He said a few of them "complained to the officers of minor harassment since their return to Camaguey," complaints which "the U.S. government takes seriously."

Johnson said Joe Sullivan, the top U.S. diplomat in Havana, met Thursday with Cuban diplomat Ricardo Alarcon in Havana to express U.S. concerns. Alarcon "reiterated his government's assurance that the returned migrants will not be harassed or otherwise prejudiced for having attempted to leave Cuba illegally," he said.

Herald staff writer Susan Benesch contributed to this report.

Employers predict business as usual

By MIMI WHITEFIELD
And SUSANA BARCIELA
Herald Business Writers

South Florida employers said Friday they don't expect a planned work stoppage next week to disrupt business, but many plan to meet Monday to reassess the situation.

Work stoppages and general strikes to press a political agenda are a time-honored tradition in Latin America, but the concept of workers staying off the job for political reasons seemed to catch many Miami employers by surprise.

"We have no policy, decision or comment at this time," said Marc Cohen, a spokesman for Jackson Memorial Hospital. His was a fairly typical response.

Municipal governments in Dade and Broward counties said they expect to carry on as usual

Tuesday.

Will 'work with' protesters

Most employers said they wouldn't retaliate against workers who may take the day off. But most companies expect their employees who don't work Tuesday to take a vacation day or lose the pay.

"Employees who strongly believe in the work stoppage are encouraged to take vacation time to participate," said Kim Miller, spokeswoman at Burger King. "We will work with those employees."

The sentiment was similar at Robles & Gonzalez, a 55-person law firm in downtown Miami.

"We anticipate all 55 will be working because the office is extremely busy and people are very dedicated," said Louis Robles. "But if any of the staff

M.H. 5-13-95 Curb74

Though general strikes are common in Latin America, South Florida bosses seem surprised by the prospect.

did participate, we would honor that personal decision."

Dave Dawson, spokesman for Ryder System, said "If an employee wants to take a floating holiday on Tuesday or Thursday or any other day, they are free to do so."

At Hialeah's Telenoticias, a Spanish-language all-news network, Tuesday is expected to be a busy day.

"We going to be covering [the work stoppage], but here at Telenoticias we're going to be working. After all, this is a 24-

hour news station," said Gustavo Pupo-Mayo, the network president.

Some managers, however, fear a snowball effect. "There may be a lot of people joining in just to take the day off," said the manager of a branch bank in Miami. "Put it this way: I'll be here."

Concern for health care

There also is concern about the impact on hospitals and other critical community services if a significant number of workers decided to protest.

"I hope that people who work

in medicine will not stop working, regardless of their political view. These people [here] are sick. Workers can't just walk off the job," said a worker at Baptist Hospital.

Miami International Airport spokesman Mark Henderson said no special plans are in place.

"We have 30,000 employees at this airport," Henderson said. "I don't know who is going to leave and who is going to stay, but the airport is going to function."

So will the phone company, said Southern Bell spokesman Spero Canton. Employees recognize how critical phone lines can be in any emergency, said Canton. "They know they have a responsibility to our customers to not jeopardize that."

Canton said few Southern Bell employees participated in protests this week. There were no

phone interruptions earlier this week when protest organizers called for a five-minute work stoppage, he said.

Temporary help agencies said their phones were not ringing off the hook Friday.

"Personally, I don't know how many people take this seriously enough to risk their jobs," said Holly Lewis, president of Budget Quality Staffing.

But some companies clearly are nervous. When asked if they had plans for Tuesday, several companies declined to comment, saying they didn't want to be unwitting targets of the protest.

Greg Brown, Michelle Chandler, Don Finefrock, Rafael Lorange, Ana Menéndez, Ted Reed, Jack Rejman, Christina Samuels and Amy Vernon contributed to this report.

on Tuesday

Miami protests find no echo in Cuba

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Herald Staff

HAVANA — For loud reaction to the U.S. decision to repatriate Cuban rafters, one must turn on the radio and tune in Miami.

It is easy to catch Miami's Spanish-language radio here, with commentators railing against the U.S. migration negotiations with Cuba and reports on demonstrations in Miami. Since the accents are nearly all Cuban, it takes a moment to realize that they are describing another city.

In contrast to the clamor in Miami, Havana seems calm. Demonstrations — except those organized by the government — are rare in Cuba. Daily life commands more urgent attention than politics, as Cubans try to cope with high food prices and power blackouts.

The approach of summer raises the level of anxiety. In the last two years, summer has been accompanied by increasing blackouts and restlessness.

For the moment, Havana neighborhoods have blackouts for a few hours on two days a week — an improvement over recent months. Many are announced in advance, which makes them easier to tolerate. But Cubans expect the blackouts to grow longer, as they did last summer, with increasing electricity consumption. Blackouts also interrupt food supplies and distribution.

High price of oil

Food supplies are generally better than they were a year ago, Cubans say, but still uneven. Rice and beans have been abundant lately, but the cooking oil that people use to prepare them has been so scarce that its price on the black market went up last week to \$8 for a small bottle.

The Cuban government is most worried about August, the month when protests broke out last year, followed by the exodus of boat people.

Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina recently told a group of Cuban journalists that he plans to invite some Cuban Americans to Havana in August, and hopes that will dissuade Miami commentators from encouraging violence at the same time, said one journalist who was present.

Another Cuban writer said some people fear Aug. 13 because it is President Fidel Castro's birthday, and his more daring

opponents might choose that day to try to cause trouble.

But many Cubans, including dissidents, say they think unrest is unlikely.

The presence of fear

"Last summer, when people went out in the streets, people said Cubans had lost their fear. But the thing is that fear is very easy to get back," said a prominent Cuban writer.

Earlier this week in Cojimar, a beach town just east of Havana, a broad-bellied man resting with his bicycle said it was unfair for the United States to send Cuban rafters home. "We are having a very hard life," he said.

He began to list his family budget, complaining that many of the items in his government ration book are no longer delivered monthly, as they are listed in the book. He must buy many necessities on the open market for exorbitant prices. A bar of soap costs more than 10 percent of a laborer's monthly wage.

Another exodus?

The most likely form of disorder, Cubans say, would be another exodus, since most Cubans who are very discontented want to leave, not rebel. ~~And in the face of a massive exodus, the United States might be forced to change its policy again.~~

But even an exodus is now unlikely, Cubans say. Many of those who were willing to risk their lives on rafts did so last summer, when the Cuban government made no effort to stop them. That exodus relieved the pressure; now there are fewer potential rafters desperate to go, said several people who remained behind in coastal towns near Havana.

Many Cubans are hoping that the negotiations between the United States and Cuba will bear further fruit, perhaps including less restrictive travel for Cuban Americans who want to visit their families in Cuba. Some people in Havana say they would be less eager to leave if their exiled families could visit more easily.

Some also hold out hope that the Cuban government will take more steps to liberalize the economy, giving private individuals a chance to make a living and to work independently.

With possible changes and a long, hot summer looming, many Cubans said, the wisest policy is to wait and see.

Traffic jams are just most visible protest

M.H. 5-13-75 CUBA

The protests are widespread and varied. Not all who disagree with the Clinton administration's new Cuba policy are hurling their bodies in front of cars, banging on hoods, choking traffic.

"But you just watch," warned the young Cuban-American professor and documentary filmmaker. "Tomorrow, this entire day of protest will amount to a traffic story."

"Those people out there," he said, referring to the rush-hour protesters, "have good intentions. But they are being counter-productive."

The traffic jam. "That's all the people of South Florida are going to see and, Cuban and non-Cuban, they are going to be ticked off," he said one hot afternoon this week.

In what he believes to be a more powerful, peaceful way, 27-year-old Joe Cardona has been sitting outside The Herald building for nearly a week. He and film partner and fellow professor Alex Anton, and several others, are protagonists of one of the more curious displays of outrage toward the administration for repatriating rafters to Cuba. They are staging a "chain fast," called "Fasting for Justice," and hope to build a wide circle of young protesters who relieve one another after several days of fasting.

It is their response to the interdiction of Cubans at sea by U.S. Coast Guard boats. Anton and Cardona were riding along State Road 836, listening to National Public Radio, when they heard about the policy shift.

"This goes against everything this country has stood for. We decided we needed to take a stand," says Anton, 28.

Days later, it was Cardona who was on NPR, lambasting the policy from a plastic-covered mattress in The Herald parking lot.

The protesters, although a generation away from the old Cuban guard, shared an instant identification with the traditional methods of Cuban dissent. A hunger strike, they thought. But, in an effort to invite other supporters, Cuban and otherwise, they came up with the chain idea.

Last year, Anton and Cardona produced a popular documentary called *Breaking the Silence*, a film about the nonviolent opposition inside Cuba.

Today, in their protest, they are joined by Sebastian Arcos Cazabon, an exiled human rights activist and son of jailed dissident Sebastian Arcos. So it is a mix of protesters who state their cause underneath the white canvas tent in the parking lot. There are *cubanitos* from here and *cubanitos* from there. There is even a rafter who arrived just weeks ago.

What they have agreed on, though, is to educate, not antagonize.

"You're asking people to take a leap of faith to your cause. You have to do that by opening their hearts and minds, not getting into a shouting match," says Anton.

The protests are widespread and varied.

I've heard about former Democratic Party loyalists who are taking down their photos of handshakes with Bill Clinton.

I've heard about Cubans quitting their government posts in protest.

I've heard more than several Democrat friends say they want to ditch the party, register Independent.

This cause has even made lawbreakers out of lawmakers. The sight of U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart getting arrested was startling. Here he was, the embodiment of The American Dream, in handcuffs.

At the scene, a disgusted Frank Calzon, a human rights advocate for Freedom House, turned to a cop and said, "Officer, if you want to enforce the law, you have to go to the other side, because the president is breaking the law."

The disgust is widespread. And it is about more than just traffic.

Work stoppage planned

M.H. 5-12-45
By DAVID HANCOCK CUBA
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

Round 2 is under way in the U.S. government's controversial repatriation of Cuban rafters. Nine rescued Cubans — eight men and a woman — spent Thursday night on a Coast Guard cutter that could take them back to Cuba as early as today.

Thursday afternoon, the Coast Guard picked up two more Cuban men on a raft. They were expected to be transferred to the same cutter as the other nine.

A Coast Guard jet spotted the first group of Cubans in a home-made, 15-foot sailboat struggling amid six-foot waves Wednesday evening in the Florida Straits.

"The waves were washing over the side of the sailboat and it was taking on water," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said. "The plane radioed one of the cutters that was on patrol in the straits. It got over there in less than an hour and got the people off the sailboat before it sank."

The rescues may have been salvation of a sort, but not all that the Cubans might have hoped for in these changing political tides. Government sources say some or all of the 11 Cubans could be returned to the island as early as this afternoon, after an immigration officer on the Coast Guard cutter interviews them about possible political asylum claims.

Cuban exile groups in Dade County, meanwhile, took a breather Thursday after a week filled with rallies, marches, traffic blockades and other protests against the new Cuban repatriation policy. Thursday was spent planning new ways to make their position known, most notably a "work stoppage" day planned for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

The 11 Cubans are the second

11 more rafters picked up; all are facing possible return

CUBANS, FROM 1A

and third groups to be picked up by the Coast Guard since President Clinton's decision last week to change immigration policy and deliberately return Cubans to their homeland for the first time since Fidel Castro seized power in 1959. The first group of 13 Cuban rafters was repatriated Tuesday, when a Coast Guard boat docked at the port of Cabañas, about 38 miles east of Havana.

In Washington, government officials Thursday downplayed reports that the Cuban government might be harassing that

Exile leaders plan a 'work stoppage' day for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

first group of repatriated Cubans, who on Wednesday traveled from Cabañas to their home province of Camaguey.

Members of the repatriated group have said they've been

shadowed by Cuban authorities since their return to Camaguey. One of the rafters said he was followed by a car with men whom he recognized as plainclothes State Security agents. Another man reported that police were monitoring his mother's home.

Doubts raised

However, a State Department cable from two U.S. officials who interviewed most of the repatriated rafters raised doubts about allegations that they were mistreated.

According to the cable, the officials met with eight of the 13 returnees between 4:30 and 8 p.m. Wednesday.

"In the initial meetings, the returnees noted that they were well treated by authorities," the cable said. "However, all were obviously unhappy about the fact of being back in Cuba."

"At one point during the day, U.S. Interest Section officers were told Cuban police were at the home of two returnees, Cesar and Ulises Cabale. When the officers arrived, they found no sign of the police. The Cabales complained, however, that earlier in the day, a police motorcycle and sidecar had visited the house opposite, which is the location of the CDR (Revolutionary Defense Committee) representative for the neighborhood. The Cabale brothers did not tell us of any other alleged harassment."

In a phone interview from Havana, a spokesman for the U.S. Interests Section said the Cubans were upset to learn that the repatriation process would not give them any advantage or shortcut in seeking a visa to travel legally to the United States.

RIPPING CLINTON:
Gladys Lavastida tears up a picture of President Clinton during a demonstration at Coral Way and 27th Avenue against the new policy to repatriate Cuban refugees.



MURI VALLBONA
Harold Staff



POSITION PAPER

JUL 28 1995

P.O. Box 10309
St. Petersburg, FL 33733

SIMPLISTIC SOLUTIONS TO COMPLEX PROBLEMS

(that probably would work, but can never be tried)

POSITION PAPER NO. 41

AUGUST 1995

Remember the song "WORKING ON THE CHAIN GANG, DOING HARD TIME"? That could become popular again. The State of ALABAMA resurrected the "CHAIN GANG" for felons, where prisoners are taken from their cells, put in striped cotton uniforms, shackled with chains connected to other prisoners and forced (heaven forbid) to do manual labor outside the prison. Guess what? It seems to be helping to reduce crime. At worst, it keeps the prisoners busy.

In the world of "FELONS", those guilty of serious crimes, being in prison is "COOL". Good food, no work, TV, lots of exercise and good company. When released they are roll models to young would be felons. Being on the "CHAIN GANG" is definitely not "COOL". The results in ALABAMA are so good that FLORIDA and ARIZONA are going back to the "CHAIN GANG". Other states may follow.

This is the first thing we have tried that actually seems to work, reduce crime. Lets take this success and go forward with it. With a few minor adjustments, lets include FEMALE and JUVENILE felons. If it works for adult male felons, it should work with all prisoners. Besides, we must not DISCRIMINATE.

For FEMALE felons, lets have nylon uniforms, white with black polka dots, pink plastic chains and shackled to only the left foot. For the JUVENILES, lets have multicolored, polyester, baggy uniforms, baseball caps turned backwards, blue plastic chains and shackled to only the right foot. The work required of FEMALE and JUVENILE felons should be limited to no more than ten (10) hours a day and six (6) days a week.

If this "CHAIN GANG" punishment works, we could expand it to include those convicted of all crimes. Who knows, we might solve the crime problem without bankrupting the nation.

Income tax "REFORM" is the talk in Congress now. Many of our elected "LEADERS" have put their "PET" ideas on what to do with the IRS (INFERNAL REVENUE SERVICE) on the table. Some want to do away with the income tax and the IRS altogether. Some want to replace the income tax with a consumption tax. None of these new and improved ideas will take place, mostly because we have done it the present way for a long time and we, the all knowledgeable people, can't stand meaningful change, especially for the better.

Since we seem locked into the income tax mode, why not take this opportunity to "ADJUST" the system to be more equitable? Lets get down to the nitty-gritty and be FAIR. We can solve many of our problems, little and large, by changing the deductions, additions and rates. Once we make the system fair, we may even start to love the IRS. Well, more like "TOLERATE" those dirty so-in-so's.

First, and foremost, one of the most unjust, unfair and diabolical wrongs in our present income tax code is the deduction for people, married and unmarried, with minor children. Children are one of the major causes of over population. The little monsters cost BILLIONS and BILLIONS of dollars. We have to care for the little darlings, educate them, fund a juvenile justice system to protect us from them and once they finally leave the nest, we have to find them a job, take them in again when they get fired and care for their legitimate and illegitimate children when they abandon them. This puts a terrible load on the national budget. Why should we reward people with a income tax deduction for inflicting such pain, grief and financial strain on us?

Lets be fair. Lets do away with the deduction and in its place lets add \$ 5,000 to the taxable income every year of every one, single or married, with minor children. That way, those responsible for many of our social, judicial and financial problems will share in the cost of their terrible deeds. Those who have more than two (2) children should have \$ 10,000, per additional child, added to their taxable income. This would be the most effective form of birth control imaginable.

Those people, married, single or just shacking up, who do not have children and are saving our country a lot of grief, money and problems should get a \$ 2,500 deduction each year. This deduction should cease after the end of child bearing age.

Those who have no income and have children should be required to do public service work at no cost to the taxpayers to make up for the expense they cause. If they are unable to do manual work, they should be required to become foster parents for unruleable, disturbed and down right mean little buggers.





THE WORLD ACCORDING TO US

P.O. Box 10309
St. Petersburg, FL 33733

August 1995



"IT'S A WEIRD, WEIRD WORLD"



SOMETHING NEW

The AMERICAN FBI, Federal Bureau Of Investigation, is supposed to be just for the U.S.A. It has all it can handle with home grown crime. Right? No, The FBI's INTERNATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACADEMY has an operation in BUDAPEST, HUNGARY. No fooling. They just graduated 32 police officers from POLAND, HUNGARY and the CZECH REPUBLIC. The eight week course is the first offered outside of the U.S.A.

"HILLARY PARA"

First Lady HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON recently visited BANGLADESHI. She went to a hamlet of the lowest HINDU cast, called "UNTOUCHABLES". The villagers were so enchanted by her that they renamed their village "HILLARY PARA". In the local language "PARA" means village.

CHANGING TIMES

The KUWAITI ISLAMIC AFFAIRS MINISTRY plans to set up a telephone counseling HOT LINE for battered women suffering from male violence. KUWAITI women can now drive, wear Western clothes and some have top jobs in the civil service.

DOWN SIZING

The U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT plans to close 21 consulates around the world. These include the following: ZURICH, STUTTGART, BILBAO, FLORENCE, EDINBURGH, BORDEAUX, POZNAN, LAHORE, APIA, BRISBANE, CEBU, UDORN, MEDAN, LUBUMBASHIO, VICTORIA, MALABO, PORTO, ALEGRE, HERMOSILLO, CURACAO, MATAMOROS and BARRANQUILLA.

ZULU UPRISING

ZULU Chief MANGESUTHU BUTHELEZI is urging his followers in the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY to rise up and resist the NELSON MANDELA SOUTH AFRICAN government. BUTHELEZI and other ZULU leaders are afraid MANDELA will strip KWAZULU-NATAL and other provinces of their power and push tribal leaders aside.

REDUCING DEBT

CASH-strapped RUSSIA has a new marketing strategy for reducing their foreign debt. They first sold sophisticated air defense systems to the U.S. military. Now they have convinced SOUTH KOREA to accept RUSSIAN tanks, infantry vehicles and missiles worth \$ 200 MILLION as partial payment for RUSSIAN debts.

GAY BAN UPHELD

The High Court in ENGLAND has upheld a ban on HOMOSEXUALS and LESBIANS in the BRITISH military. GAY-RIGHTS groups are doing a dance and say they are appealing. The court said the military has the right to ban GAYS in order to maintain discipline. At least 12 EUROPEAN countries allow homosexuals in their military. They seem more interested in pleasing GAYS than having an effective military. One BRITISH source suggests allowing "ONLY" GAYS in the military. DRAFT them all, put them in PINK uniforms, train them to be killers and call them the "FAGGY DRAGOONS"

"FRIENDS"

COMMUNIST CHINA has asked the UNITED NATIONS to lift its sanctions against IRAQ. The UN imposed tough sanctions on IRAQ after BAGDAD invaded KUWAIT in 1990.

THAT'S OLD!

A rare giant turtle was recently found in a pond in SOUTH CHINA'S HAINAN Province. It weighed 100 pounds and the farmer who found it was given a \$ 420 reward. Experts say the fresh-water turtle had lived in the same pond for around 500 years, give or take.

URANIUM 238

Police in ESTONIA have arrested two men for trying to sell them five kilograms of non-enriched URANIUM 238. The price was only \$ 54,000. With enrichment, the material could have been used to make a medium size nuclear bomb. The uranium almost certainly came from RUSSIA.

WARNING

The IRANIAN government has warned AZERBAIJAN to stay on good terms with TEHRAN. The warning to BAKU says it is not wise to fall under the influence of the U.S. The TEHRAN TIMES reported, "IRAN HAS ENOUGH WAYS AND MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL TO THWART U.S. ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE. IT IS NOT WISE FOR THE AZERI GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW ITS FOREIGN POLICY TO COME UNDER U.S. INFLUENCE." The main dispute is over the exploitation of Caspian Sea oil and pipeline routes.

MURDERED WOMEN

According to official figures released by INTEFFAX news agency, last year around 15,000 women in RUSSIA were murdered by their partners. Another 14,000 were raped. Many RUSSIAN men assume they have the right to beat their wives.

SAVING RATE

JAPANESE put more of their income into savings than do people in most other industrialized nations. The household saving rate in JAPAN is 14.3 %, compared to GERMANY's 12.3% and just 4.1 % in the UNITED STATES.

REBELLION

The ZIMBABWE UNITY MOVEMENT (ZUM) has been active along the MOZAMBICAN border. They are trying to overthrow President ROBERT MUGABE.

WAR PREPARATION

GEORGIA, the former RUSSIAN province, is reported to be preparing a new offensive against the ABKHAZ region. Several military operations have already occurred.



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Washington Report

Dedicated to exposing the Washington standards of greed, corruption, self-indulgence and the Great American Dream of profit at all cost!

August 1995

A MONTHLY WASHINGTON POLITICAL NEWSLETTER

Subscription \$25.00 per year

Volume 16, No. 8

SMALLER GOVERNMENT

Have no fear, GOOD OLE BOY NEWT GINGRICH, the "MISER", is here. GINGRICH has 26 staff members in his Speaker's Office PLUS another 22 in his Congressional office. Four of these are paid \$ 108,234 a year each, one makes \$ 115,000 a year and six others make \$ 122,932 each. The 11 cost the taxpayers \$ 1,285,528 a year. The other 37 staffers make good money. They all probably work hard for OLE NEWT but it makes you wonder about the Speakers talk about reducing the size of government and balancing the budget.

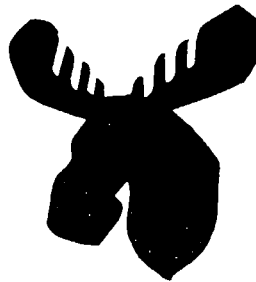
WORTH REPEATING

The DALLAS MORNING NEWS recently ran an editorial on WASHINGTON, DC, saying "MISMANAGEMENT AND CHICANERY BY LOCAL POLITICANS FORCED CONGRESS RECENTLY TO APPOINT A BOARD TO OVERSEE CITY FINANCES. THE CITY CANNOT PAY ITS DEBTS. ITS SCHOOLS ARE DYSFUNCTIONAL. ITS TRASH COLLECTION IS SPORADIC. ITS TAXES ARE EXORBITANT. ITS BUREAUCRACY IS BLOATED. ITS RESIDENTS ARE FLEEING TO MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA. NO AMERICAN CAN BE PLEASED. WASHINGTON SHOULD BE A NATIONAL SHOWCASE. INSTEAD, IT IS AN EMBARRASSMENT.

GREAT QUOTE

Former House Speaker TIP O'NEILL, D-MA, said, "NEVER KICK A MAN WHEN HE IS UP."

ATTENTION



NEXT MONTH THE BIG BAD "BULL MOOSE" RETURNS. HE WILL BELLOW AND STOMP. WATCH FOR HIS WILD RAVINGS AND WAVING AS THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS START!

SMOKE AND MIRROWS

Balancing the budget is BALONEY! Government spending is 40 % of our economy. Severe cuts will cause a deep prolonged recession/depression.

"PEACE MISSILE"

ROBERT TRENT JONES, who designed the White House putting green, gave BILL CLINTON a golf club, a driver, called the "PEACE MISSILE", made from RUSSIAN nuclear missile parts. To help CLINTON use it properly, it has a missile engraved on the head pointing the way to swing.

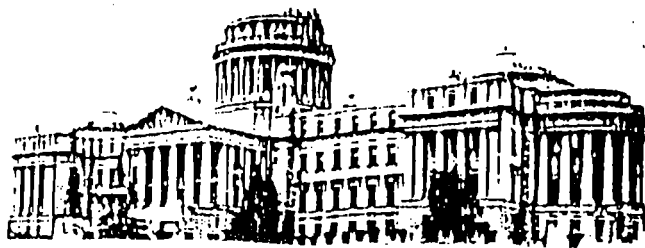
"OH, MERCY ME!"

The UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES, UCLA, has finalized plans for an undergraduate program in GAY, LESBIAN and BISEXUAL STUDIES. If the faculty Senate approves, it will be in place by next Spring. It will foster acceptance of GAY lifestyles at UCLA. "OH, MERCY ME AND FIDDLE-DEE-DEE, LET IT ALL HANG OUT!"



Candidate for Re-Election

COMMITTED
DEDICATED
CAPABLE
PERSISTENT



AARON E. HENRY
Mississippi State Legislature
District #26 - Coahoma & Bolivar Counties
P.O. Box 1352
Clarksdale, Mississippi 38614

Mississippi
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS:
State Library (Chairman)
Investigation State Office
Penitentiary
Public Health & Welfare
Navy & Marine

Ms. Alexis Hermon
Whitehouse Public Leaseon
Washington, D. C. 20005

June 24, 1995

*Dear Friend and Supporter of
the Re-Election of Aaron E. Henry
To the State of Mississippi
House of Representatives:*

*It is my pleasure to further alert you and the members of this great church,
that I am, indeed, a candidate for re-election to the Mississippi House of
Representatives. The primary (the election) will be held on August 8, 1995.*

*Our long standing years of friendship, support, determination, commitment,
dedication, capabilities, persistence, and our willingness to give without
hesitation or delay of our efforts in favor of little children and the elderly; our
resolution to education, and our genuine respect for justice, law and order,
combined with faith and obedience with prayer and action to the God and
Savior that we lovingly serve have helped our community "TO KEEP HOPE
ALIVE" and remain viable in several areas including Economics and Human
Relations.*

*While too many of us spout the phrase of Three, Strikes and you are out, some
of us support the phrase Four Balls and You are ON.*

*The Ball of Obedience to our God and Savior,
The Ball of Education,
The Ball of Economic Survival and,
The Ball of Justice and Fair Play.*

*Aren't you proud to support the 4 Balls and on phrase, don't you wish
everybody did!*

*While sincerely appreciating the fact that we have come a long way, like you
and I know, we have a long way to go. We still face and must deal with the
problems of the office of our State Government and Governor.*

*We have the problem of keeping Coahoma Opportunities, Inc. and the program
of Head Start alive. I am part of a committee trying to accomplish this task.
Several of us were in the beginning of these programs. We have supported
them since their beginning in 1965, for more than 30 years, and today this
community faces their Possible Loss unless some quick, emergency action that
some of us are proposing is successful. I have spoken with several COI and
Head Start employees and feel that I know what the problem is and who is
responsible. I will discuss this with you privately at your request, at any time.
I say "privately," because it is a cardinal principle of mine not to discuss
publicly any persons downfall!*

*Some of us take great pride in the success of the community hospital care and
community transportation programs in our community. They are of great
benefit to all of us who need them and make ourselves available to use them.*

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS FOR THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT AARON E. HENRY TO
THE MISSISSIPPI STATE LEGISLATURE 130 DR MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
DRIVE. TELEPHONE 601 621 9800 POST OFFICE BOX 1352 CLARKSDALE,
MISSISSIPPI 38614. CAMPAIGN MANAGERS MR BENNIE GOODEN & DR. JONATHAN HARRIS

11/24/1996

This year our political campaign has been very fortunate in securing the participation of many of our community citizens and leaders as persons dedicated to the RE-ELECTION OF AARON E. HENRY to the Mississippi State Legislature on August 8, 1995. The campaign managers are:

*Dr. Jonathan Harris
713 Desoto Avenue
Clarksdale, MS 38614
(601) 624-5481*

*Mr. Bennie S. Gooden
507 Desoto Avenue
Clarksdale, MS 38614
(601) 627-7884*

The Campaign Team today consist of more than 100 persons. While we sincerely appreciate our present campaign team, we still need your help. WILL YOU PLEASE JOIN US?

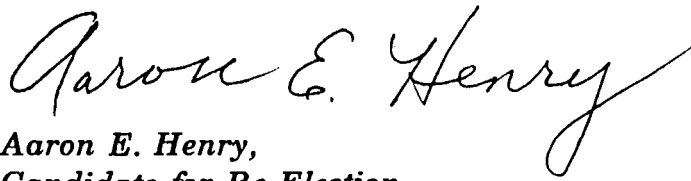
We need your personal assistance in the following ways:

- 1. () I will pray for the successful Re-Election of on August 8, 1995 of Aaron E. Henry to the MS State Legislature.*
- 2. () I will personally vote for Aaron E. Henry and try to get all of my relatives, friends and acquaintances to vote for him.*
- 3. () I will make a substantial financial contribution to his political compaign and urge others to do the same.*
- 4. () I will volunteer my time in the campaign.*
- 5. () I will distribute his political material.*
- 6. () I will help to secure the areas (personal yards) where we can place a yard sign.*
- 7. () I will assist in the details of securing absentee ballots for him.*
- 8. () I will help in the office, including getting out the mail.*
- 9. () I will provide transportation to the polls, on election day, August 8, 1995, for voters.*
- 10. () I will help provide food and refreshments for campaign workers.*

The campaign headquarters is located at 130 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive, P. O. Box 1352, Clarksdale, MS 38614 - Telephone number: (601) 621-9800; FAX number: (601) 627-7886.

- 11. () I will encourage my church to secure a special financial donation to his campaign.*
- 12. () I will encourage organizations in which I am a member and/or familiar with to make a special donation to the Aaron E. Henry campaign.*

Yours with appreciation,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Aaron E. Henry". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Aaron E. Henry,
Candidate for Re-Election
Mississippi State Legislature
P. O. Box 1352
Clarksdale, MS 38614

P. S. Please respond using the enclosed stamped, self addressed envelope.

ON OR BEFORE JULY 14, 1995.

AARON E. HENRY Candidate for Re-Election

Mississippi State Legislature

District 26 - Coahoma & Bolivar Counties

P.O. Box 1352

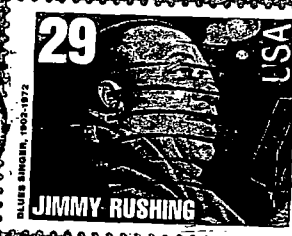
Osborne, Mississippi 38664

COMMITTED
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PERSISTENT



COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS:
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Investigation State Offices
Penitentiary
Public Health & Welfare
Ways & Means

August 8, 1995



Ms. Alexis Hermon
Whitehouse Public Leaseon
Washington, D. C. 20005

205



VARON E. HENRY Candidate for Re-Election
Mississippi State Legislature
District #26 — Coahoma & Bolivar Counties
P. O. Box 1352
Clarksdale, Mississippi 38614

COMMITTED
DEDICATED
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PERSISTENT



COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS:
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Investigation State Offices
Penitentiary
Public Health & Welfare
Ways & Means

August 9, 1995

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

Donald L. Fowler
National Chair

Christopher J. Dodd
General Chair

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE
Debra DeLee, Chief Executive Officer
(202) 479-5194 ♦ (202) 488-4088 (fax)

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: _____

Alexis Herman

FROM: _____

Debra DeLee

Janet Green

Rocco Claps

Ann Castagnetti

Julie Burns

Mark Bilsky

Brad Kiley

Helina Parks

FAX NUMBER: _____ PHONE NUMBER: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (Including Cover): _____

MESSAGE: _____

Convention May Cost City \$15 Million Taxpayers Face Bill if Dem Fund-Raising Lags

By Lynn Sweet and [REDACTED]

Chicago may have to ante up \$15 million in public funds to help bankroll the 1996 Democratic National Convention, the Chicago Sun-Times has learned.

The preliminary estimate, by a city official who declined to be identified, comes amid growing concern that the city must step up fund-raising efforts. The estimate is the first indication of how much taxpayer money the city might spend on the August, 1996, event.

There is a big question as to whether they can raise the money to put on this convention, said a Democratic official close to the convention. A 1995 city council vote by Mayor Daley has ruled out a tax increase in Chicago and has delayed the feasibility of taxpayer contribution to the convention.

And his brother William Daley, co-chairman of Chicago '96, the host committee responsible for raising money, said the city would come out ahead even if it had to spend \$20 million in tax money.

Money is coming into Chicago, not flowing out. We will make a hell of a lot more money on the convention than it costs to put it together, William Daley said.

The city won the convention last year by offering a package of up to \$32.1 million in cash, services and in-kind donations. City officials told the Democratic Party at the time that the city would turn a profit.

S-T
6-12-96
P. 1

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1995

15

METRO

Demos

Continued from Page 1

time that they could raise about \$8 million from private sources, an additional \$8 million from state grants and up to \$18 million from the city in cash, goods or services.

A chunk of the city's \$18 million contribution, however, was not to be "new" money but funds already budgeted for city services, such as police. And there also was a potential that the host committee would raise enough to defray other city costs, officials said at the time.

The deal is backed by a pledge that the City Council would be asked to appropriate public money in "such amounts as shall be necessary to meet its obligations" to the Democrats, the contract says.

The contract does not require the state to provide funding. That is making organizers nervous in light of the fight Daley has picked with Republicans over control of Chicago airports.

With the convention 14 months away, host committee members "haven't raised very much at all," said Leslie Fox, executive director of Chicago '96.

Chicago '96 has raised about \$400,000 and \$800,000, Fox said, she has lined up a donation of apartments valued at \$250,000 to house convention staff.

Fund-raising was put on the back burner because of the need to raise money for Daley's re-election in April and for the 1994 state elections. A presidential fund-raiser on June 29 and the likelihood of a contested Senate Democratic primary may increase competition for money. Chicago '96 fund-raiser Kathleen Murray, who also raised money for Daley's re-election, leaves when her contract ends June 30.

There has been a retrenchment in strategy. A \$250-a-ticket event July 24 at the Art Institute was canceled in favor of a bigger one in fall.

Fox said it made better sense to "hit them up once for a big ticket and don't hit them again and again."

Despite the start, Fox said, "I don't think the taxpayers are going to be stuck."

However, Fox said, she predicts a city contribution "similar" to New York and Atlanta. New York used \$22 million in property tax-supported funds. And in 1988, Atlanta increased its hotel tax to help raise \$14 million.

San Diego, where the Republican will hold their convention in August, 1996, is just starting to raise money to fund a \$26 million pledge.

The San Diego host committee is on the line for up to \$12 million in private donations. The city pledged \$14.5 million, with \$2.2 million coming from a hotel tax. No California state money is involved.

Don Fowler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said he met June 1 with the Daleys in Chicago. He said the mayor reiterated that he wanted to keep a lid on the need for the city to spend public funds.

"In perspective, there is plenty of time to do this," said Fowler, who was the chief executive officer for the Democrats' 1988 convention in Atlanta.

To date, Chicago has spent \$2.4 million for the convention. That includes the first rental payment for the United Center, insurance and equipment purchases.

Gary Chico, the mayor's chief of staff, said: "From the start, everyone has been concerned that we do a good job in raising the money necessary to make the convention successful in Chicago. But I think the numbers that need to be raised are achievable. It is not how you start, it is how you close."

Democrats will try to set a perfect convention stage

By Mitchell Leck
Times Staff Writer

A wooden platform and some hunting were enough to decorate the temporary hall built in Chicago for the 1992 Republican convention.

Some 10,000 people crowded into the Wigwam to witness the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for president. Despite the crush, "every celebrity could be seen," Lincoln's aides wrote Peter. "Every speech could be heard."

That remains the goal of the planners of the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. But their audience will be multiplied many times over by TV, so the party has picked a Hollywood production designer to transform the United Center into a high-tech electronic launching pad for President Clinton's re-election.

Convention officials are negotiating a contract with designer Rene Lagler, the winner of three Emmys, who has designed for

stars ranging from Tony Orlando and Dawn to Barbara Streisand and Frank Sinatra. Lagler was the designer for the "Three Tenors" concert in Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles in 1994.

space, security and accessibility. The details are being discussed. Lagler's work and the office space fall under Chicago's commitment to provide \$22 million in bonds and services for the convention.

In addition to his work for entertainers, Lagler has experience on the political and civic front. He helped design the Democratic conventions in 1988 in Atlanta and in 1992 in New York, as

See Convention, Page 4

Convention

Continued From Page 1
well as Clinton's inaugural gala in 1993.

In addition, he created the look for the opening and closing ceremonies of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and the celebration of the relighting of the Statue of Liberty in 1986.

"He has a good eye for these events," said Mark Bilsky, director of convention planning for the Democratic National Convention Committee. Other party sources said negotiations with Lagler to design the convention podium should be concluded soon.

Unlike in Lincoln's day, the winner of the presidential nomination is now known long before dele-

"The look helps create a mood, and the mood gets conveyed on the screen."

Dan Werner

gates meet. Conventions have become giant productions to sell that candidate to the nation, and the settings have assumed greater importance.

"The look helps create a mood and the mood gets conveyed on the screen," said Dan Werner, associate executive producer of "The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour," which expects to broadcast gavel-to-gavel convention coverage on Public Broadcasting System stations next year.

As at recent conventions, the podium will be an elaborate stage temporarily built for the Aug. 28-29 convention. It will have a lectern for speeches by Clinton and others, prompting devices, hydraulic lifts, areas for musical performances, seating for party officials and the press, and security provisions dictated by the Secret Service.

But the party is a long way from settling on the design themes.

At the 1992 convention, Lagler collaborated on the Madison Square Garden decor, which included a red, white and blue podium dominated by a video wall 23 feet wide by 17 feet tall, creating a crisp, modernistic setting.

"It was very artful and creative," Werner said.

Though even the standards that identify state delegations will be created by the design team, it's hard to say how much the setting, the camera angles and the lighting will contribute to a successful convention.

At the 1992 Republican convention in Houston, the GOP opted for muted sandstone tones for a set that Werner described as being "very imposing, very presidential."

Yet it didn't help President George Bush, which Werner said proves that for a political convention, as well for any production, "the set doesn't make a good program. The set contributes."

For the 1996 Democratic convention, officials have tentatively decided to build the podium over the first-level seats on the south side of the United Center. The TV networks will take over the first level of skyboxes opposite the podium for their anchor booths.

During recent walk-throughs for the networks, United Center officials demonstrated how some of the dividers, glass walls and stadium seats of the luxury skyboxes can be removed to transform them into anchor booths.

The rest of the 15,000 media representatives will work out of a temporary building that will be erected on 150,000 square feet of the south parking lot or in production trucks parked next to the temporary structure.

4:45
TWO

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TURNING IDEAS INTO ACTION

The National Newsletter of
The Democratic Leadership Council **DLC**

Where Others Fear to Tread...

While most of the country has focused on the Republican jihad against Washington, DLC-PPI has moved on a number of fronts to fill the void left by the shattering of the Democrats' congressional majority.

That void is nothing short of astonishing. On issues ranging from welfare reform to tax policy to affirmative action, Democrats as a party have remained markedly silent. So far, DLC-PPI has provided the only alternative voices.

Affirmative Action: On March 20, the DLC stepped into the affirmative action debate with an op ed column in the *New York Daily News* in which DLC President Al From stressed the need for responsible rhetoric in re-evaluating this controversial policy. The May/June issue of *The New Democrat* brings together a variety of perspectives, and plans are underway for a series of seminars on different aspects of the question, from the military model of affirmative action to the implications of strengthening anti-discrimination laws.

An evolving DLC-PPI position is likely to emphasize stricter sanctions against discrimination coupled with a re-definition of affirmative action based on economic disadvantage, rather than group identity.

Welfare Reform: On March 2, PPI offered the latest iteration in its evolving work-based approach to welfare reform. The plan would replace the AFDC and JOBS programs in the existing welfare system with an employment system, based on performance-

based grants to the states and job placement vouchers for welfare recipients.

The legislative situation in Congress cries out for a serious alternative. Republicans—clamoring to pass the issue back to the states and save money at the same time—have ceded any claim to serious reform that actually moves people from welfare to work. For their part, House Democrats rallied briefly behind a bill modeled after an earlier PPI proposal and offered by Rep. Nathan Deal, who has since joined the Republican Party. PPI will continue to press the issue in the Senate, with a detailed paper on successful job placement efforts due out soon.

Reordering Economic Priorities: PPI Vice President Robert J. Shapiro's update of *Cut-and-Invest* continues to be the subject of widespread interest, with favorable endorsements from dozens of editorial boards nationwide. A joint event on March 6 with the conservative Cato Institute un-

Continued page 3

THIS JUST IN...

Debra S. Knopman has been chosen to head a new environmental policy center at the Progressive Foundation. Knopman, who will take over her new duties in June, currently serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Water and Science at the Department of the Interior. (See page 4 for details.)

The Main Event

Florida DLC... Pioneers for the 21st Century

Nearly five centuries ago, tales of an exotic environment and an abundance of gold lured Spanish settlers to a remote corner of the New World called La Florida (the land of flowers).

Today, Florida retains the lure of environmental and economic treasure. But the same attributes that attracted settlers so many years ago present Florida with some of its most difficult challenges today—an economy dependent on tourism and agriculture, a fragile ecosystem, immigration woes, a growing trade industry, and a transient population in search of a common culture and a sense of community. These issues lend an air of urgency to Florida's politics. And not surprisingly, they are the driving force behind a new school of state leaders who came together last year to help prepare their state for what lies ahead.

The vehicle these leaders chose was a Florida DLC. And at last May's DLC Southeastern Regional Conference in Ft. Lauderdale, they established their fledgling organization as a force to be reckoned with in state politics. Led by FDLC president and former House Speaker Jon Mills, and co-chaired by Governor Lawton Chiles and

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JUN - 5 1995

OUR BLESSED COMMUNITY

June 1995, Vol. 2 #5

A Publication of the Office of Black Catholics, Archdiocese of Washington
Habari Gani... "What's The News"

[Jesus said] "You will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes down on you; then you are to be my witnesses in Jerusalem, throughout Judea and Samaria, yes, even to the ends of the earth."

Acts 1:8

Memorable Quotes From the Catechism of the Catholic Church *The Sacrament of the Eucharist*

1412 The essential signs of the Eucharistic sacrament are wheat bread and grape wine, on which the blessing of the Holy Spirit is invoked and the priest pronounces the words of consecration spoken by Jesus during the Last Supper: "This is my body which will be given up for you... This is the cup of my blood...."

F.O.C.U.S. CHILDREN & VIOLENCE

This section will focus on issues that affect our community. This month's feature is on **CHILDREN & VIOLENCE**.

- ◆ A gun takes the life of a child every two hours.
- ◆ Homicide is now the third leading cause of death for elementary and middle school children (ages 5 to 14 years old).
- ◆ Between 1979 and 1991, nearly 50,000 children were killed by firearms - a total equal to the number of American battle casualties in the Vietnam War.
- ◆ Juvenile arrests for murder and non-negligent manslaughter rose 93% between 1982 and 1991.
- ◆ There was a 79% increase in the number of 10 to 17 year olds who used firearms to commit murder between 1980 and 1990.
- ◆ A child growing up in America is 15 times as likely to be killed by gunfire as a child growing up in Northern Ireland.

Let's take the time to become involved with our children. Provide employment, become a big sister or big brother, or sponsor a youth to camp. Our children are our future.

~~~~~  
It takes a whole village to raise a child.  
~~~~~

MILESTONES...CONGRATULATIONS! to Barbara Bell Ashley, St. Augustine; Joan Butler, St. Gabriel; Charlene Jones Howard, St. Teresa; and Beverly Babin Woods, St. Ignatius on their graduation from Education for Parish Service Program (EPS). They have now been trained and certified to serve their parishes, families, workplaces and communities.

Celebrate as *Charles Green* is ordained to the sacred priesthood on Saturday, June 24th, 10 a.m. in the Upper Church of the National Shrine.

His *First Mass of Thanksgiving* will take place June 25th, 11:30 a.m. at St. Anthony Church, 12th & Monroe Streets, N.E. Everyone is Invited.

IN OUR COMMUNITY

June 20, Author, Iyanla Vanzant, "*Acts of Faith*" will speak at Cramton Auditorium on Howard University's campus. For more information call (301) 589-1665.

Dates to Remember

June 24

Archdiocese of Washington Mass Choir Concert
"*Our Music Heritage: Past and Present*"
6:30 p.m.

Church of the Incarnation, 880 Eastern Ave, NE
Tickets: \$7.00

Call OBC (301) 853-4579 for more info.

OBC will accept information and articles for publication. Please submit by the 30th of the month. Information will be accepted on a first-come, first-served basis. All information that is submitted may not be printed. Send to: OBC Newsletter, P.O. Box 29260, Washington, DC 20017 (301) 853-5372. Suggested Donation: \$10.00 per year for 12 issues \$1.00 per copy.

Enclosures: AWMC Spring Concert flyer,
Hallelujah People brochure.

Resources: *Children's Defense Fund, Sisterspace & Books Newsletter*

Editor: Jacqueline E. Wilson
Writer: Melanie K. Johnson

Hallelujah, Glory Hallelujah

A monthly series of *reflection* booklets brought to you by illustrations, story telling, proverbs and poems. Produced for use by any denomination to help build *Christian community*, enhance group and individual ministries and bring focus to daily prayer time. "Hallelujah People" is produced with busy people in mind. Each issue is concise, easy to read and enriching.

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People Behind "Hallelujah People"

The author and founder of Hallelujah People, Michael Howard, believes the Word of God is alive today. It is with this enthusiasm he has joined with a team of writers for each publication. Charlene Howard, Donna Grimes and Paul Washington give freely of their time and talent to come together, in spirit and in truth, making each issue of Hallelujah People an inspiration to all Christian people.

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Washington Report

Dedicated to exposing the Washington standards of greed, corruption, self-indulgence and the Great American Dream of profit at all cost!

June 1995

A MONTHLY WASHINGTON POLITICAL NEWSLETTER

Subscription \$25.00 per year

Volume 16, No. 6

HERO OR COWARD?

In case you don't listen to the late night national talk radio show of STAN MAJOR (you should), you may not know this story. A caller said he served with GEORGE BUSH in the PACIFIC and when BUSH's plane was hit, he bailed out leaving his crew on the plane to die. BUSH was rescued from the water and brought back to his base where it was decided to court-martial him for COWARDNESS. BUSH's father, SENATOR PERCY BUSH, contacted Gen. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR and the court-martial was canceled and GEORGE BUSH was given a medal for BRAVERY. A second caller, from another part of the country, confirmed the story, saying he was on the same base with BUSH.

LESS GOVERNMENT

The President and Congress all claim to be RE-INVENTING government, reducing regulations and cutting costs. During 1994, the first year of BILL CLINTON's term, there were 2,500 new laws passed, to be implemented by 86,000 pages of new regulations at a cost of over \$ 800 BILLION to the AMERICAN economy.

"SUGAR DADDY"

Rep. J. J. PICKLE, a DEMOCRAT from TEXAS, reports there are currently over 600,000 aliens on SOCIAL SECURITY - and their numbers are growing each year.

MR. CLEAN?

According to the SOVIET newspaper IZVESTIA, ARMAND HAMMER was a "BAG MAN" who carried CASH from RUSSIA to the UNITED STATES to help fund the U. S. COMMUNIST PARTY. Guess who has links to ARMAND HAMMER? None other than "MR. CLEAN" Vice President AL GORE, JR. Over the last 20 years AL GORE, JR. has collected nearly a half MILLION dollars in royalties from a zinc mine that didn't exist for 12 of those years. GORE's BENEFACTOR was ARMAND HAMMER.

"HANOI JANE"

Remember JANE FONDA, the actress, also known as "HANOI JANE" during the VIETNAM WAR? Sure you do. Her anti-American views were well known. She is now JANE FONDA TURNER, wife of TED TURNER, TV "BIGGIE" of CNN and other cable networks. Her influence on TED TURNER is said to be such that CNN is now called by some who remember her mouthings as the "JANE FONDA NETWORK". To reward her for her outspoken anti-American views, shared by President BILL and HILLARY CLINTON, our COMMANDER and CHIEF appointed her our GOODWILL AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND. Ambassador JANE "HANOI JANE" FONDA TURNER is quoted saying, "I WOULD THINK THAT, IF YOU UNDERSTOOD WHAT COMMUNISM WAS, YOU WOULD HOPE, YOU WOULD PRAY ON YOUR KNEES THAT WE WOULD BECOME COMMUNISTS."



POSITION PAPER

P.O. Box 10309
St. Petersburg, FL 33733



SIMPLISTIC SOLUTIONS TO COMPLEX PROBLEMS
(that probably would work, but can never be tried)



POSITION PAPER NO.37

JUNE, 1995

The time has come to change the way we select our political leaders. We have proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the voters are totally incapable of selecting anywhere near competent or even marginably adequate individuals at any level of government - city, county, state or federal. We have over 500,000 elected officials in the UNITED STATES and hardly any of these would meet minimum standards for any other profession.

We have heard, and believe, a statement about the voters, "THERE IS NO WAY TO OVER ESTIMATE THE STUPIDITY OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN VOTER. GIVEN THE COMPLETE STORY, THE ABSOLUTE TRUTH, THE AVERAGE VOTER WILL INVARIABLY VOTE FOR THE WRONG PERSON, FOR THE WRONG REASON AND THEN LIE ABOUT IT."

Since "MONEY" is the "MOTHERS MILK" of our political system, lets make it the basis of selection of any and all officials. Lets make all political offices a four year term. Since our political leaders seem to make more money "ON THE SIDE" or "UNDER THE TABLE", lets not pay them a salary, expenses or any "PERKS".

Every four years, when it's time to play fruitbasket over, lets advertise all the positions open and allow anyone interested to submit a bid. How much will a person pay to be a political leader? Each bid to be sealed and contain a performance bond to insure payment. After all, we are not dealing with honorable people. All money is to come from the individual's assets left after paying all taxes due. No individual or group will be allowed to contribute any funds to anyone to buy any office.

The highest bidder will be awarded the office. All proceeds will go to reduce the national debt. This is probably the only way we will ever be able to pay off the national debt.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! It is time, no, past time, that we cleaned up the mess in our athletic community - both professional and academic, especially in basketball and football. We must vigorously apply AFFIRMATIVE ACTION laws and QUOTAS to sports.

Just look at basketball and football games on television and you can see the gross violations of AFFIRMATIVE ACTION and DIVERSITY. Read the sports pages and note the photographs in our major media sports coverage and it is obvious that we have a serious problem, a definite unAmerican situation in our sports.

Where are the WOMEN? Where are the GAY and LESBIAN players? Yes, where are the STRAIGHT WHITE MALES? Oh, a few STRAIGHT WHITE MALES are allowed to play BUT that is mostly for "SHOW". Have you ever seen a FEMALE, STRAIGHT or LESBIAN, short or tall, fat or skinny on the football field or basketball court? Our sport games look more like the "MIX" seen at midnight on the streets of HARLEM or SOUTH LOS ANGELES than the real population "MIX" of our beloved AMERICA. We must restore the same AFFIRMATIVE ACTION and DIVERSITY that we insist on in our other institutions.

Lets demand that all sports, from sand lot, little league, grade school, college, professional and senior citizen games, follow the actual population "MIX" of the country. The QUOTAS should be clear and firm. We should arrive at fair and just percentages but generally speaking, all participants in sport games should be 50 percent females, 45 percent males and 5 percent GAY and/or LESBIAN. Of those, 11 percent should be African American, 1/4 percent Native American, 6 percent Hispanic and 5 percent mixed. The rest should be WHITE. In addition, we must not discriminate against the short, tall, fat, skinny, pretty, ugly, athletically challenged and last but not least, we must remember that approximately 26 percent of all AMERICANS deviate sufficiently from accepted norms to be classified as mentally ill and 25 % can not read and write sufficiently to cope in a complex society. Since the American population "MIX" is approximately 51 percent stupid or crazy, our sports should reflect that "MIX". This may require upgrading the sports community, sometimes referred to as "JOCKS", but this can be done by special tutoring in such areas as remedial reading, basic numbers (simple adding and multiplying but not necessarily division).

To make our sports truly "ALL AMERICAN", we should limit professional sport players to an annual income of no more than what we pay the President of the United States. Coaches, trainers and sports reporters, print, radio and TV, should be paid no more than the annual income of Members Of Congress. Tickets to sports events should be no more than what most movie theaters charge.





THE WORLD ACCORDING TO US

P.O. Box 10309
St. Petersburg, FL 33733

June 1995



"IT'S A WEIRD, WEIRD WORLD"



GO HOME, NOW!

Most industrial countries have been flooded with immigrants from third world nations seeking a better life or welfare. GERMANY has about 40,000 VIETNAMESE nationals in the country. To solve the problem, the GERMAN government has decided on mandatory repatriation. The 40,000 VIETNAMESE, all of them, have to go home by the year 2000.

CUBAN HITCHHIKING

CUBA has a fuel shortage. Gas is so scarce that "HITCHHIKING" has become a way of life. It's even "OFFICIAL". Every so often on the highways, drivers must stop and state their destination to a uniformed official. The official checks the space available and orders the driver to take waiting people going to the same place.

IT TAKES ALL KINDS

In PIAUI, BRAZIL's poorest State, the most popular politician is City Councillor KATIA NOGUEIRA TAPETI. What makes TAPETI so unusual in that machismo dominated country is that she doesn't hide the fact that she is a TRANSVESTITE.

KING FAHD'S HEALTH

SAUDI ARABIAN sources say 74 year old KING FAHD is suffering from arthritis in his knees, diabetes and heart trouble. His condition is much worse than generally known. When he dies, look for a battle royal between his half-brother, Crown Prince ABDULLAH and Prince SULTAN, his full brother, to see who succeeds to the throne.

"CRIMINAL" SLOGAN

The NETHERLANDS has declared it "UNCONSTITUTIONAL" for a political party to be nationalistic and employ "CRIMINAL" slogans. The FOLK-NATIONALIST political party has been charged with "CRIMINAL ACTIVITY" for using the slogan "EIGEN VOLK EERST", which translates to "OUR OWN PEOPLE FIRST". Three top party leaders are scheduled to go on trial for this terrible crime.

MONEY PROBLEMS

Since 1990, NORTH KOREA has closed embassies in 14 countries around the world, including HUNGARY, PORTUGAL and CAMEROON. The lack of foreign exchange - MONEY - is said to be the problem.

DEADLY MISSILE

JANE'S INTELLIGENCE REVIEW reports RUSSIA has developed a new super high speed unguided underwater missile. Code named the "SHKVAL", it can travel at a velocity that would give a targeted vessel little chance to take evasive action. Western nations have nothing like it.

ORGAN TRADE

IOAN MAXIM, Chairman of the U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION working group on contemporary slavery, says a growing trade in human organs exists in developing countries. In some countries, children are adopted by foreigners for the sole purpose of taking their body organs.

BOATS SEIZED

Both CHINA and the PHILIPPINES claim the potentially oil rich SPRATLY ISLANDS in the SOUTH CHINA SEA. The dispute is heating up. Four CHINESE fishing boats were recently seized by the PHILIPPINE navy.

CHINESE DROUGHT

A serious drought in Northern CHINA has left 10 MILLION people and 4 MILLION head of livestock without enough drinking water. Rainfall is down 50 to 80 percent.

SKELETONS FOUND

Researcher MICHAEL NOVACEK reports in the journal NATURE the find of five 80 MILLION year old skeletons of previously unknown shrew like creatures that lived during the age of the DINOSAURS. They were found well preserved in a nest in MONGOLIA's GOBI DESERT.

"MAD CLOWN"

Many people see RUSSIA's VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY as a "MAD CLOWN". He may be a "CLOWN" but he is not "MAD". He has strong support in the military and security forces. He has just been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the reserves by Defense Minister GRACHEV. That's not funny. It's a hug and kiss from the RUSSIAN military establishment.

BLACKFACE DISEASE

A bacterial disease, known as BLACKFACE, is spread by a sandfly. Victims get a fever and their faces turn BLACK. It's fatal if untreated. Six people in a village in NEPAL, near the border with INDIA, have died recently from the disease and 70 have been hospitalized.

CHINESE HIGHWAYS

Sources in HONG KONG report that commercial traffic on CHINESE highways all but stops at dusk. Highway robbery is a major problem in several areas and is spreading.

RUSSIAN FARMERS

RUSSIAN farmers have received only about 50 percent of the fertilizer they need this year. A fuel shortage is keeping many farm machines idle. It may be too late to prevent a food crisis this fall.

6,388 KILLED

The ALGERIAN government reports that MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS killed 6,388 civilians in that country during 1994. This figure included 61 foreigners. Another 2,289 were wounded, including 11 foreigners.





May 24, 1995

Dear Friend:

With all of the heated discussions taking place today about the impact on listeners of radio talk shows, I thought you would be interested in learning more about one talk show, "The O'Leary/Kamber Report," carried on the NBC radio network, which has built a national reputation by appealing to the intelligence rather than the base emotions of its audience.

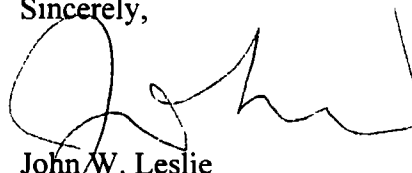
The O'Leary/Kamber Report," is co-hosted by Brad O'Leary, a right wing Republican political consultant who numbers GOP presidential hopeful Phil Gramm and the National Rifle Association among his clients, and Victor Kamber, a liberal public relations consultant whose clients include trade unions, environmentalists and democratic politicians. Brad and Victor go after each other and their guests, frequently a member of Congress, hammer-and-tongs in an hour-long lively debate designed to educate their audience on the controversial issues of the day. As a result, their three year old program has become America's most listened to "point-counter-point" radio talk show, heard on stations from Alaska to Florida and from Maine to California.

Victor recently wrote a newspaper op-ed piece drawing on his experience in talk radio to discuss the impact of some of his colleagues and the need for them to take responsibility for what they say. The op-ed was printed in papers across the country and I am enclosing an example taken from the Lubbock (Texas) Avalanche-Journal.

The op-ed speaks for itself, but I would like to underscore Victor's main message, which is that each of us must be held accountable for our own words and for the good or the bad which result from them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



John W. Leslie
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Lubbock Avalanche-Journal

Wednesday, May 10, 1995

Talk-radio host urging caution in what's said on the airwaves

BY VICTOR KAMBER

It's time to watch our mouths.

If there's one lesson we should learn from the horrific Oklahoma City federal building bombing, it's that.

As co-host of the most listened-to "point-counterpoint" talk radio show in America, "The O'Leary/Kamber Report," I'm starting to have a better understanding of the power of words and using greater caution about what I say on the air.

No one on talk radio is directly responsible for the actions of a few psychopaths. But we are responsible for creating an atmosphere in which hate, mean-spiritedness and paranoia prevail, and in which the line between violent words and violent deeds grows ever thinner. Consider:

- The second most listened-to political talk show host, G. Gordon Liddy, told listeners that under certain circumstances, shooting agents of the (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) could be justifiable. He said that listeners should take "head shots, head shots," because the agent will be wearing a bullet-proof vest.

- Chuck Baker of KVOR in Colorado Springs argued that citizens have a right to mount "armed revolution," according to the AP, and used to simulate the sound of a gun's firing pin.

- Rush Limbaugh, while avoiding calls to violence, takes second-place to no one in the degree to which he paints government as the enemy.

Talk show hosts vent anger because they believe it attracts listeners. This may not be right, though it is understandable. But it is inexcusable when politicians adopt the same approach as a means of attracting voters. Again, consider:

- House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., calls himself a "revolutionary" and liberals "the enemies of normal Americans."

- House Majority Leader Dick Armey, R-Texas, says that Bill Clinton is "not my president."

- Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C., warns Clinton will "need a bodyguard" if he visits North Carolina.

- Reps. Steve Stockman, R-Texas, Helen Chen-

oweth, R-Idaho and Linda Smith, R-Wash., "appear to have had contact" with right-wing militia groups and "have refused to denounce the concept of the militias," according to Roll Call.

What's most revealing about many Republicans is how their rhetoric about the bombing softened once the identity of the alleged perpetrators became known. In the bombing's immediate aftermath, when the media rampantly and irresponsibly speculated that Middle-Eastern terrorists were responsible, Republicans were demanding that President Clinton bomb Iran, Iraq, Libya or whatever country may have been involved.

There's another thing you don't hear much from the Republicans these days — praise for the heroes of the Oklahoma City bombing. Perhaps that's because they are mostly government employees — the people who worked in the building, firefighters, police officers, and the federal agents who quickly identified the culprits, for example.

Obviously, we can't have censorship. But everyone in public life — whether we sit behind a microphone or stand on the bully pulpit — must take responsibility for our words.

If they inflame rather than heal, then we must be held accountable. Sponsors shouldn't spend their money advertising on shows where the host talks about using the president and the first lady for target practice.

And voters shouldn't re-elect incumbents who tolerate terrorist groups or sympathizers, or who spread hatred like butter on bread.

Through our votes and our right to free speech and assembly, we must change government where it is wrong or misguided — but to blow it up through words as well as deeds is to destroy ourselves in the process.

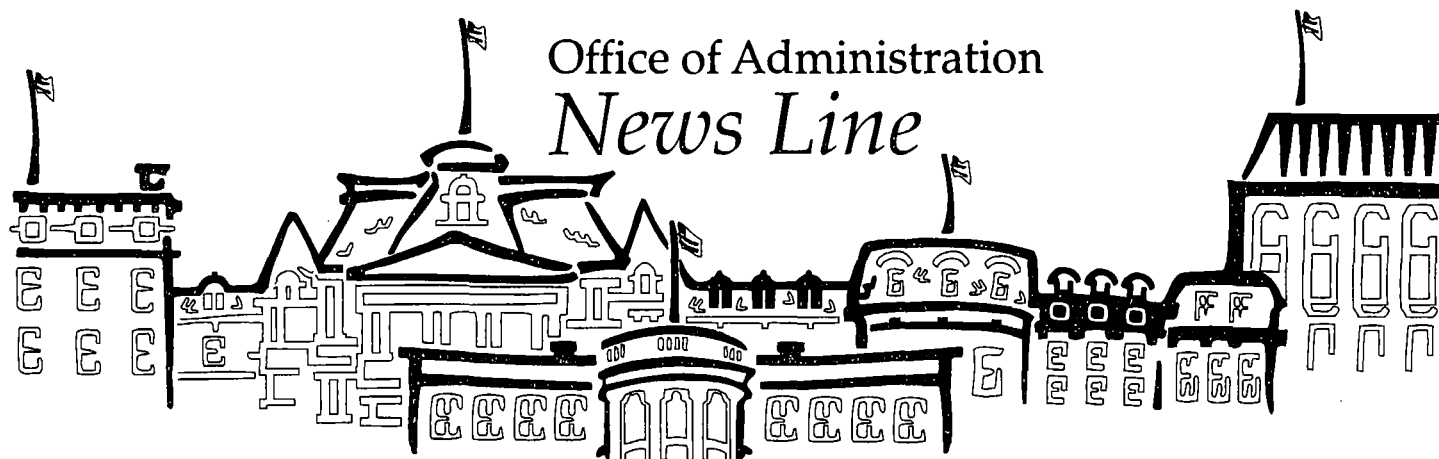
Victor Kamber is president of The Kamber Group, a Washington-based public relations firm, and author of a forthcoming book against term limits. In addition, he co-hosts the weekly "O'Leary/Kamber Report" which airs in Lubbock on KKAM-AM at 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

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"...no greater honor..."

Recently, the President signed a proclamation for a National Day of Mourning in remembrance of those who died in Oklahoma City. In that proclamation, he said,

"It has been said that, 'In every child who is born, the potentiality of the whole human race is born again.' We lost unimaginable potential this past week. And we will miss our loved ones dearly."

We mourn those who were lost. In the wake of this disaster, we are familiar with the concerns of all Federal workers. This is a troublesome time for all. During this particularly trying time, let us remind you of the existence of the Employee Assistance Program (EAP).

The EOP has a new EAP provider and counselor who is James Myricks. The EAP can help employees deal with a variety of personal problems. They range from coping with the diverse emotions generated by the events in Oklahoma City to ones that negatively affect job performance.

Employees need not be anxious about using the EAP because the highest professional standards will be used to guard your confidentiality. Dependents of EOP employees are also eligible to use the program. There is no cost to employees or their dependants for any of the EAP services.

Mr. Myricks will be available to see employees on-site in the New Executive Office Building (NEOB), Health Unit in Room 6101, from 1:00 - 5:00 PM each Wednesday. To schedule an appointment, call 1-800-545-1221 or simply walk in.

Assistance is available 24 hours a day by calling 1-800-545-1221. Employees may also see the EAP counselor at one of the following off-site locations.

1511 K Street, N.W.
Suite 732

or
601 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 900

1ST DISTRICT, DENVER, COLORADO

NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE
JUDICIARY COMMITTEEWASHINGTON OFFICE:
2307 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0801
(202) 225-4431DISTRICT OFFICE:
811 E. 17TH AVENUE
DENVER, CO
(303) 866-1230Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0601**In America**

BOB HERBERT

*Riding
N.Y.T. To 6/20/95
Freedom*

It was an old gag, and so corny it would make you groan. The evil white restaurant owner in the heyday of the civil rights movement would announce defiantly: "We don't serve Negroes here!" And the leader of the well-mannered sit-in contingent would reply amiably: "That's all right. We don't eat them."

When James Farmer would tell that story he would throw his head back and erupt in a sonic boom of laughter. You couldn't help but laugh with him. You had no choice.

I talked to Mr. Farmer on Monday. He is 74 years old and blind and lives alone in a house in Fredericksburg, Va. Illness forced the recent amputation of his right leg. "That's the one," said Mr. Farmer, "that I used to use for kicking butts." He turned loose that old familiar laugh and over the phone I could imagine his head rearing back in delight.

Mr. Farmer is mostly forgotten now, which is worse than a shame, it's tragic. He was one of the Big Four civil rights leaders of the mid-century — men who led a movement that changed this country and influenced much of the world. The others, Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, are all dead. Of the four, only Dr. King's name resonates with the young, and even then the thoughts are hazy. I talked to a high school kid some years ago who thought that Dr. King had worked for Al Sharpton.

James Farmer was dedicated and heroic in a way that is difficult to imagine today. Again and again he put his life on the line in the fight for freedom for black Americans. In 1963 a mob of Louisiana state troopers armed with guns, cattle prods and tear gas closed in on Mr. Farm-

Look no further
than Virginia
for an
American hero.

tion in interstate travel facilities but its rulings were virtually ignored in the South. The freedom riders, an interracial group of men and women, mostly college age, boarded buses in Washington, D.C., and headed for Mississippi, determined to make desegregation a reality.

It was — at times, literally — an ordeal by fire. One of the buses was destroyed in a firebombing. The freedom riders were attacked and viciously beaten by Klan-led mobs. Some of the riders suffered permanent injuries; many were jailed. Mr. Farmer himself spent 40 days in jail in Mississippi.

"In the end, it was a success," said Mr. Farmer, "because Bobby Kennedy had the Interstate Commerce Commission issue an order, with teeth in it, that he could enforce, banning segregation in interstate travel. That was my proudest achievement."

Mr. Farmer believes that two grave errors were made, even as the civil rights movement was racking up its stunning successes. The first was the almost uniform tendency to confuse segregation with racism. That encouraged the mistaken belief that dismantling the apparatus of legal segregation was in some sense the equivalent of decreasing the poisonous levels of racism in the society.

The second error in some ways followed from the first. "We did not do any long-range planning," said Mr. Farmer. "So we were stuck without a program after the success of our efforts, which included passage of a civil rights bill and voting rights legislation. We could have anticipated the backlash that followed. We could have asked ourselves what the jobs prospects would be for blacks in the 70's, the 80's, the 90's and later

*Att: Doug S.
Doug
invite him to the W.H. —
an authentic hero, now forgotten.
5/20*

VERY PRINTED

and tear gas closed in on Mr. Farmer, who had had the temerity to organize demonstrations in the town of Plaquemine. The troopers hunted him door-to-door.

"I was meant to die that night," Mr. Farmer once said. "They were kicking open doors, beating up blacks in the streets, interrogating them with electric cattle prods."

A funeral home director had Mr. Farmer "play dead" in the back of the hearse, which carried him along back roads and out of town.

Two years earlier, Mr. Farmer, who had helped found the Congress of Racial Equality on Gandhian principles of nonviolence, organized the freedom rides, one of the decade's most perilous civil rights efforts. The Supreme Court had banned segrega-

on. By and large we didn't do that, except for affirmative action. We should have had a plan."

Next Tuesday is the Fourth of July, a day to celebrate freedom in America. I'm told the country is starved for heroes. Well, we've got one living quietly in Fredericksburg, Va.

Alexis -
Pat Schroeder's AA
sent this to Doug.
Doug wants to know
if you think Mr. Farmer
should be invited to a
radio address or
something... L. Hancox

Alexis,

—
This came from Larry

JUL 24 1996

O'Brien. I thought that
you should see it.

Kate

✓

—

HILL BRIEFS

□ The Senate Judiciary Committee Thursday voted 12-6 for a constitutional amendment to curtail desecration of the U.S. flag. Sens. **Dianne Feinstein**, D-Calif., and **Howell Heflin**, D-Ala., joined 10 Republicans in supporting the proposal. The House approved the constitutional amendment by a 312-120 vote, more than the two-thirds majority necessary. If each chamber approves the amendment by two-thirds, three-quarters of the states would have to ratify the language within seven years.

□ The Senate Commerce Committee Thursday approved by voice vote a \$13.8 billion FY96 NASA authorization bill — slightly above the \$13.7 billion approved by the House Science Space and Aeronautics Subcommittee, *LEGI-SLATE News Service* reported. The bill, passed on the 26th anniversary of man's first walk on the moon, is a \$700 million drop from FY95, and about \$500 million under the administration's request. The measure authorizes \$1.8 in direct funding for the space station, less than approved by the House subpanel, but authorizes \$1.4 billion for the Mission to Planet Earth program, substantially more than the House's \$1 billion authorization.

□ Sens. **Jim Jeffords**, R-Vt., and **Sam Nunn**, D-Ga., today plan to introduce an Employee Retirement Income Security Act reform bill intended to increase the purchasing power of health insurance for small employers and curb fraud in self-funded Multiple Employer Welfare Arrangements. The measure would stiffen requirements for both fully insured and self-funded health plans under ERISA. It would require disclosure reports by self-funded plans. Under the legislation, health plan purchasing coalitions for individuals and employers would be created in an effort to drive down prices of health services and health plans.

□ Congressional Republicans are winning the message race outside the Beltway when it comes to Medicare, top pollsters and public opinion strategists agreed
Thursday at an American Association of Retired Persons conference on the long-term future of the program. Robert Blendon, chairman of the Health Policy and Management Department at Harvard University School of Public Health, said he would give Democrats only a grade of "B-" on their effectiveness at the grassroots level so far. Republicans have been attempting to reframe the debate outside of Washington, from one of cutting Medicare to saving the program from bankruptcy. Bill McInturff — a partner at Public Opinion Strategies, and a top adviser to congressional Republicans — said that message is crucial to the GOP. "Un-

less people know Medicare will go broke in seven years, Republicans are in dangerous terrain." he said.

□ In a memo Monday night to House Speaker **Gingrich** on the course of two major banking bills headed for the Rules Committee, **House Banking Chairman Leach** recommended a straight up-or-down vote on two controversial insurance amendments included in the bank regulatory relief bill, sources said Thursday. Leach would separate out the two amendments and package them separately for a floor vote, sources said. A lobbying war between banks and insurance agents has stalled the bill over an amendment to freeze bank insurance powers and another to allow banks to affiliate with insurance companies. The regulatory relief bill and the financial modernization Glass Steagall bill would then move to the floor in tandem, sources said. Leach this week said he does not expect the two banking bills to reach the floor before September.

□ The House Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee Thursday approved immigration reform legislation by voice vote. No amendments were voted on Thursday, but the bill reported to the full committee contains all the amendments added during the markup that lasted over the course of more than a week. Subcommittee Chairman **Lamar Smith**, R-Texas, the bill's sponsor, in a statement declared: "Under the [measure,] America will continue to be the most generous nation in the world. But unlike current law, it puts the interests of American workers and taxpayers first." Smith contended his bill would reduce illegal immigration by 75 percent.

□ The House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee Thursday approved legislation offered by **Employee-Employer Relations Subcommittee Chairman Harris Fawell**, R-Ill., that eliminates the Labor Department's clearinghouse in charge of economically targeted investments. The bill also nullifies the Clinton administration's interpretive bulletin on the investments, which Republicans have lambasted as "irresponsible" social policy. Democrats failed on several attempts to save the ETIs, including one amendment that would have blocked an appropriations cut in the Labor office that enforces ETIs. The FY96 Labor-HHS appropriations bill bars the Labor Department from spending any federal funds for the clearinghouse or to enforce ETIs.

□ Trade Representative **Kantor** Thursday announced U.S. efforts to open the South Korean market to U.S. meat and other food products has resulted in a successful agreement between the United States and South Korea.